

39

Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.

VOLUME XXXIX.—PART 1.

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W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE
1928.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising thereon to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The St. John's Card is a symbolic plate, conveying a greeting to the members, and is issued on or about the 27th December of each year. It forms the frontispiece to a list of the members of the Lodge and of the Correspondence Circle, with their Masonic rank and addresses, and is of uniform size with the *Transactions* with which it is usually bound up as an appendix.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—The St. John's Card is sent to them annually.

4.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

5.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

6.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no qualification, literary, artistic, or scientific. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

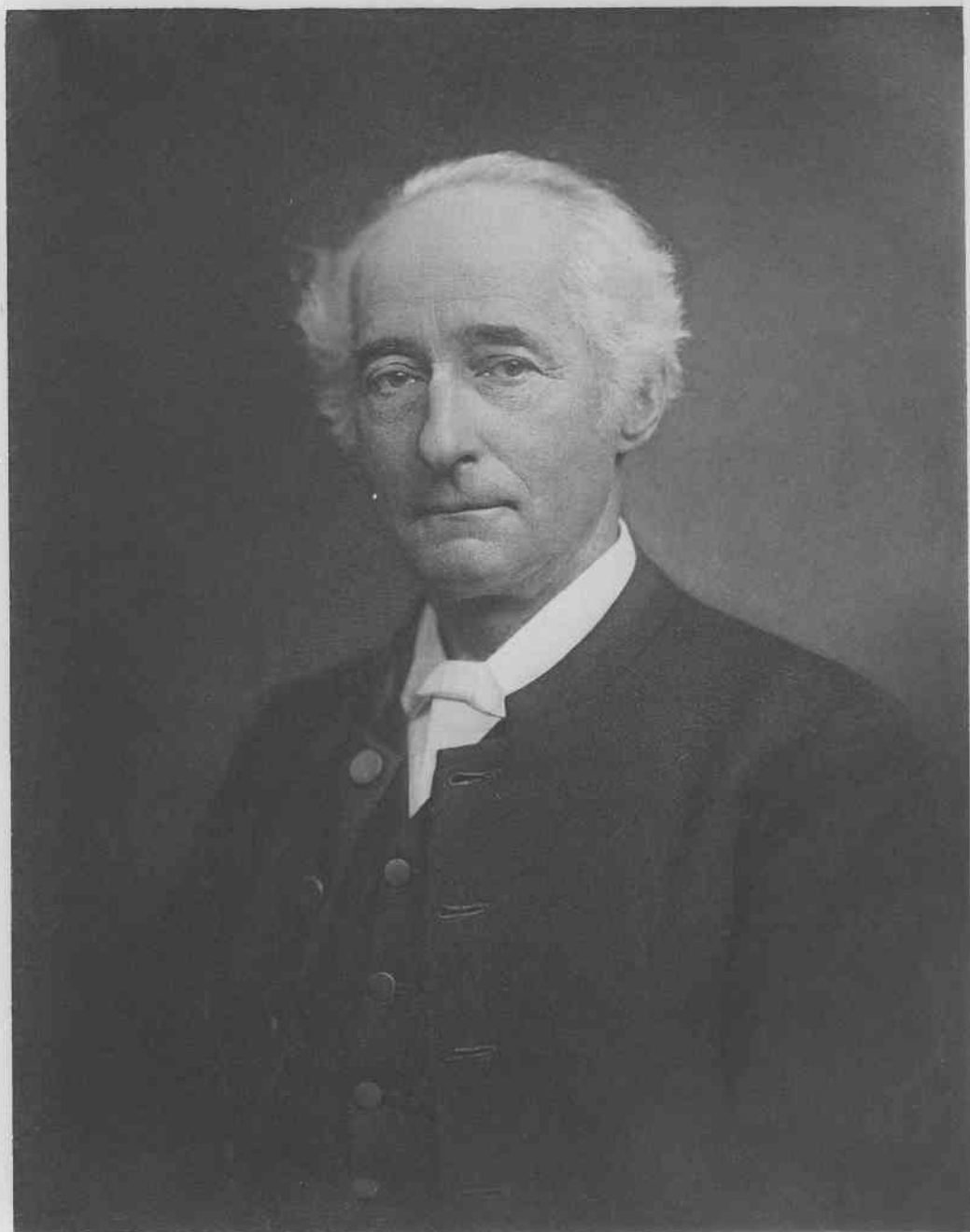
It will thus be seen that for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—By the payment in one sum of Twelve years' Subscription in advance, *i.e.*, six guineas, individual Brethren may qualify as Life Members of the Correspondence Circle. Corporate Bodies may qualify as Life Members by a similar payment of Twenty-five years' Subscription. Expulsion from the Craft naturally entails a forfeiture of Membership in the Correspondence Circle, and the Lodge also reserves to itself the full power of excluding any Correspondence Member whom it may deem to be Masonically (or otherwise) unworthy of continued membership.



From a Photograph by J. Palmer Clarke.

W. W. Lovejoy

»: Ars »:

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Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,
No. 2076.

VOLUME XXXIX.

FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1926.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. John Stokes, P.G.D., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, I.P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.D., as J.W.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Súp.W., P.M., D.C.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Cumberland & Westmorland, S.D.; Gilbert W. Daynes, I.G.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Alfred Kelly, Geo. Simpson, G. W. South, W. F. Swan, W. J. Williams, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., J. F. Vesey Fitz-Gerald, F. C. Bickell, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W. L. Rind, J. W. Tauranac, P.A.G.Pt., F. J. Asbury, J. F. Greenfield, Wm. S. Ellis, Wallace Heaton, S. C. Keville, E. F. Adams, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, Robert Frew, Albert Frisby, Rev. G. F. Irwin, P.G.Ch., J. I. Moar, Thos. M. Carter, Leslie Hemens, James Fiddes, A. E. Gurney, A. D. Bowl, Geo. A. Hoskins, Wm. Lewis, W. Geoghegan, W. Young, Pat W. Moran, J. Atherton Parkyn, W. Stubbings, W. Brinkworth and S. W. Rodgers.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. J. Morgan, Albert Lodge No. 4320; L. Sykes, Kentish Lodge No. 3021; and W. J. Hobbs, I.P.M., Shurmur Lodge No. 2374.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Edward Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

One Lodge of Instruction and Sixty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 1st January, 1926.

Present:—Bro. John Stokes in the Chair, with Bros. J. Heron Lepper, Gordon P. G. Hills, Rev. H. Poole, Lionel Vibert, H. C. de Lafontaine, Edward Armitage, Sir Alfred Robbins, W. Wonnacott, Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1925.

BRETHREN,

We have recorded with deep regret the death of Bro. Dr. William Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., on 30th July, and Bro. Count Eugène Félicien Albert Goblet d'Alviella, P.G.M. Belgium, on 8th September. Obituary Notices of these Brethren have appeared in our *Transactions*. Bro. Henry Thomas Cart de Lafontaine and Bro. Gilbert William Daynes have been elected to full membership, and our numbers therefore remain at 25.

The Correspondence Circle total is disappointing, showing as it does a decrease of 42. On the 30th November, 1924, we had a total of 3,077, and 176 names were added during the year. Against these, however, 218 have been removed from the list, 83 by resignation, 56 by death, and 79 for non-payment of dues. Thus the total number brought forward is 3,035. We again call upon all Brethren to assist us in our work by introducing new members. Only by a large increase will it be possible to make up the arrears of *Transactions* and continue the publication of the series of *Reprints*. If each of our members were to introduce only one Masonic friend each year our finances could be maintained in a sound position.

The accounts now presented show a loss in working. A balance of £400, however, is reserved for the final portion of volume xxxvi., which sum it is believed will more than cover cost of production; while, in addition to the amount reserved last year for printing volume xxxvii., a similar amount, viz., £1,000, has been placed in reserve for the publication of volume xxxviii. Subscriptions amounting to £430 3s. 10d. are still owing.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries, who continue to do much good work. We regret to lose the services of Bro. Jacob C. Klinck, of New York, and Bro. E. A. Uttley, of Matabeleland, Rhodesia, whose resignations have been accepted. Bro. S. R. Haworth has kindly taken up the work in Matabeleland, and Bro. Godfrey Smyth has undertaken to fill a vacancy in Johannesburg, while Bro. G. B. Brook has been appointed for Argyll and The Isles, where formerly we had no Local Secretary.

For the Committee,

JOHN STOKES,

in the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th NOVEMBER, 1925.

Liabilities.			Assets.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Life Members' Fund (387 Members) ...	2523	0 0	By Cash at Bank ...	603	12 6
„ Subscriptions, etc., received in advance ...	161	7 9	„ Investment, £1,300 Consols at 58 per cent. ...	754	0 0
„ Correspondence Circle, 1923 Balance in hand ...	400	0 0	„ Sundry Debtors for Publications ...	45	16 3
„ do. 1924 ...	996	15 6	„ Sundry Publications ...	455	15 11
„ do. 1925 ...	1000	0 0	„ Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions in arrear:		
„ Sundry Creditors ...	165	8 8	1925 Correspondence Circle ...	318	2 7
„ Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions as per contra, subject to realization ...	430	3 10	1924 ditto ...	89	11 10
„ Lodge Account—	£	s. d.	1923 ditto ...	17	14 11
Balance 30th Nov., 1924 ...	39	10 10	1922 ditto ...	4	14 6
Receipts ...	36	4 6		430	3 10
	75	15 4	„ Repairs Suspense Account ...	72	15 8
Less Payments ...	46	17 9	„ Profit and Loss Account—		
		28 17 7	Balance at 30th Nov., 1924..	2957	3 8
			Add Loss for the year to 30th Nov., 1925 ...	386	5 6
				3343	9 2
	£5705	13 4		£5705	13 4

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for the year ending 30th November, 1925.

Dr.			Cr.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes ...	669	16 1	By Correspondence Circle Joining Fees, 1925 ...	87	3 0
„ Lighting and Firing ...	22	17 11	„ 1925 Subscriptions ...	92	7 6
„ Stationery ...	35	14 7	„ 1924 ditto ...	175	2 10
„ Postages ...	150	14 3	„ 1923 ditto ...	20	2 10
„ Office Cleaning ...	41	15 6	„ 1922 ditto ...	9	9 0
„ Insurance ...	13	16 4	„ 1921 ditto ...	1	12 0
„ Telephone, etc. ...	11	10 9	„ Back ditto ...	0	10 6
„ Carriage and Sundries ...	12	14 3			
„ Local Secretaries' Expenses ...	3	0 10			
„ Library Account ...	12	3 11	„ Back Transactions ...	386	7 8
			„ Lodge Publications ...	55	19 6
			„ Other Publications ...	29	4 6
			„ Interest on Consols ...	37	1 11
			„ Discounts ...	25	12 0
				15	17 4
				41	9 4
			„ Life Memberships Lapsed... ..	37	16 0
			„ Balance carried to Balance Sheet ...	386	5 6
	£974	4 5		£974	4 5

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture, or the Stock of Publications, and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith. I have ascertained that the holding of £1,300 2½ % Consols is correctly inscribed in the Books of the Bank of England in the names of the Trustees, and further have verified the balance at the Westminster Bank.

ROBERT H. McLEOD,

Chartered Accountant:

14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

1st January, 1926.

Bro. THOS. M. CARTER read the following paper:—

ST. JOHN'S LODGE No. 583 (492 in 1792), HENLEY-IN-ARDEN, 1791-1811.

BY BRO. T. M. CARTER, P.M., 1404; P.Pr.G.St.B., BRISTOL.



IN bringing the ninth edition of his *Illustrations of Freemasonry* up to date (1792 to 1796) William Preston, after eulogistic references to the many benefits the Craft had received by the acceptance of the Grand Mastership by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and to the establishment in 1793 of *The Freemason's Magazine*, made what was for him a very unusual reference to the founding of private Lodges, and for some not very apparent reason cited the establishment of three new Lodges, viz:—

The Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford-on-Avon on June 4, 1793;
The Lodge of Apollo at Alcester on July 31, 1794, and
The Royal Brunswick Lodge at Sheffield on July 28, 1794.

These notices continued throughout all subsequent editions, with the only alteration of transposing the second and third into their chronological order. Even the seventeenth edition published in 1861 by Dr. G. Oliver contains them in their original wording.

With respect to the two Warwickshire Lodges it is possible that an acquaintance with the activities of James Bisset, of Birmingham, or of the ubiquitous James Sketchley, may have given him such an unusual interest, for there appear to be none but personal reasons for distinguishing these from the thirty-three new Lodges which Lane shows had been enrolled by Grand Lodge in the years 1793 and 4.

As both these Lodges will be shown to have sprung from the St. John's Lodge of Henley in Arden, the whole of Preston's short paragraphs about them may well be quoted:—

“On the 4th day of June 1793, the Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford on Avon was opened and dedicated in solemn form, in the presence of a numerous assembly of brethren from different Lodges.

The ceremony was conducted with the greatest order and regularity, under the direction of Mr. James Timmins D.P.G.M. for the County of Warwick.

On the 31st of July 1794 the Lodge of Apollo at Alcester was constituted in due form, in the presence of 121 brethren. At ten in the morning, a procession was made to the Church, where a sermon was preached by the rev. brother Green. After which the brethren returned to the Hall, when the ceremony of Consecration and dedication took place, according to ancient usage.”

The Warrant for the St. John's Lodge, Henley in Arden was issued by the Grand Lodge of Moderns bearing date October 15th, 1791, and it will be evident that though it ceased working from 1797 to 1811 and re-appears in Birmingham as the Shakespeare Lodge at that later date, there was no loss of continuity and no lapsing and re-issue to alien persons of the original warrant as Lane would have us believe, but that the same Lodge with its original warrant was removed, and took a new name at its new home.

The record books of the Lodge are now in the possession of Wor. Bro. E. Booth, P.Pr.G.D.C., of Staffs., and P.Pr.G.D., of Warwickshire, and by his kind permission I have prepared these notes of them.

The books came into his possession through a fellow Lodge member being executor to a Mr. Smith, of Birmingham, who had in his possession, and wanted to 'clear up,' many old books 'and other rubbish,' belonging, he said, to his father who was a Freemason.

Much appears to have been destroyed, but Wor. Bro. Booth urged that what was left should be carefully looked through, and these Lodge Books were found, together with a Hebrew Lexicon with an inscription on its fly-leaf:—"Presented to the St. Paul's Lodge of Freemasons, Birmingham, by Bro. B. Smith, P.S.W.: D.C. as a Foundation Stone of a Library for the Lodge. Feb. 1849."

The Lodge Books consist of the Secretary's Book, the Treasurer's Book, and the Tyler's Book, affording a complete record of the activities and difficulties of this short-lived Lodge—though it is to be regretted that no copy of the Bye-Laws has been preserved with them.

They are in a good state of preservation, vellum covered, and made up of strong hand-made paper, the Minute Book of quarto size, and the two others of long half-folio.

The paper of all three books is the same, and for the most part has a bold watermark of Royal Arms, and elsewhere of the name I. NIND: there are three loose scraps of paper in the Treasurer's Book with data relating to accounts, of somewhat thinner paper, two evidently torn from the same sheet, bearing a watermark similar to that of the books and having the watermarked date 1794 half on one piece and half on the other; the third loose slip has a somewhat different watermark bearing the same arms with the letters M.L. beneath the crown.

The binding of the three books is similar.

The Minute Book is made up of five fasciculi.

The first has seven folded sheets, making fourteen leaves, the eleventh being cut out half-an-inch from the fold, but the writing in the book is continuous on both pages of that opening. The first and fourteenth leaves are of one continuous sheet.

There is one folded sheet, one half of which is attached to the inside of the front cover, the other half forming the Title-page, "St. John's Lodge No. 583," the words 'St. Johns' boldly inked in in block type, the words 'Lodge' and 'No.' being written in the flourishing penmanship characterising the W.M. Samuel Porter's handwriting. An addendum to the number—"Now 492" is added in what may be the handwriting of Wm. Izod, the second appointed Secretary to the Lodge, who was pro tem. Secretary at the meeting when the changed number is recorded (November 2nd, 1792).

2nd fasciculus, 5 folded sheets, making 10 leaves, intact;

3rd " 7 " " " 14 " "

4th " 8 " " " 16 " "

5th " 8 " " " 16 leaves, the

last page being pasted on to the inside of the back cover, and the junction cut through to permit the insertion of a fasciculus of two folded sheets making four leaves, of which the fourth has been cut close to the binding.

It would appear that the last page of the Minute Book had been reached with the Minute of November 10th, 1797, and this fasciculus was inserted and stitched through the vellum; the job was well done, for the inset is still as firm as any of the original book.

This fasciculus is of somewhat firmer but similar paper to the rest of the book, and is of slightly larger size. It bears a watermark of Britannia within a crowned medallion, with a monogram of the initials I.C. on the shield, and the date 1804 below, the name J. CORBETT being printed as a watermark across another page.

It is to be noted that this late-added fasciculus carries an entry of the last meeting of the Lodge held in 1811.

The first opening page after the title-page is left blank, the first Minute (dated November 7th, 1791) being on the left-hand page of the second opening.

These conditions make it unlikely that there was ever any earlier Minute, and that the proceedings of the meetings on October 24th and 31st, 1791, though styled Regular Lodge meetings in the Tyler's Book, have not been lost, but were perhaps intentionally left unrecorded. It is also quite evident from the wording of the Minute of March 8th, 1811, that no meeting of the Lodge had been held since November 10th, 1797.

These three books all cover the complete existence of the Lodge before its removal to Birmingham in 1811.

The Secretary's Book dates from November 7th, 1791, to November 10th, 1797, with one entry added for March 8th, 1811.

The Tyler's Book dates from October 24th, 1791, to November 10th, 1797.

The Treasurer's Book dates from November 21st, 1791, to October 6th, 1797.

The earliest entries respecting the Lodge are in the Tyler's Book, which records the attendance on October 24th and 31st of the following Brethren, with the addition of one visitor, Bro. Wm. Hope, on the earlier date:—

The Worshipful Samuel Porter Master

Wm. James Junr. Senior Warden

Saml. Bayliss Junior Warden

Anthony Gibbs Secretary

Wm. James Senr. Treasurer

John Clark

and Wm. Narmicott Tyler.

These entries and that of the meeting on November 7th, of which Minutes were first kept, are made in the handwriting of the Tyler,—those of the next meeting on November 21st are in the handwriting of the Secretary, Anthony Gibbs, at his neatest and steadiest,—thereafter almost all the entries in the Tyler's Book are signatures of the members and visitors at the time of meeting.

These seven brethren, then, formed the nucleus of the Lodge, which, although it started at once actively to initiate, pass, and raise many candidates, did not become consecrated, or apparently fully 'constituted' until June, 1792.

The date of its warrant as given in Lane's Records is October 15th, 1791.

Between this time and the last Regular meeting of the Lodge on March 3rd, 1797, 106 meetings were held: eighty-six regular and twenty emergencies (which include the meetings for the Festivals of St. John's Day in Summer and Winter). Forty-six candidates were initiated, passed and raised, three of them being Tylers, paying no fees, who were needed either for this or neighbouring Lodges.

There were only two joining members, one the Rev. John Whitmore, who gave greatly needed help during the first two years, after which he appears to have removed to Stratford-upon-Avon, and was a founder and first Junior Warden of the Shakespeare Lodge there; and the other a Bro. Brandon Whissoll—a past Master—who attended but ten times, on two occasions assisting by taking the Senior Warden's Chair, and subsequently became a founder of the Apollo Lodge at Alcester.

It must be frankly admitted that the burden of work fell upon those few members already enumerated with the addition of three or four early initiates, and in 1795 of a few who showed promise of being active members, constant in their attendance,—but of the many others admitted to membership, and often, as will be seen, rushed quickly through their ceremonies to be qualified for attendance at some specially interesting function, very few became regular in their attendance, or remained long in membership.

To analyse more closely—of the eighteen admitted in 1792, only ten continued membership to the end of 1793, and but six to a later date, two only being subscribing members to the end of 1796.

Of the twelve admitted during 1793 not one remained a member to the end of 1794. But in 1794 seven were admitted; of whom five remained as members to the end, and in 1795 six were admitted who were not only regular in attendance, but were prepared to assist in office.

And not only was this weakness shown in the short duration of membership on the part of many admitted, but still worse did it appear in the infrequency of attendance at meetings.

The best of this group, Wm. Izod (who was initiated on May 9th, 1792, and remained in the Lodge to the end, frequently doing temporary duty as Secretary until in 1793 he was appointed to that office), made in all 66 attendances.

John Telford, January 16th, 1792, to December, 1795	49 attendances
Thos. Mountford, May 9th, 1792, to December, 1795	23 „
Wm. Bristow, January 16th, 1792, to October, 1795	21 „
Thos. Hawkes, March 16th, 1792, to December, 1793	17 „
Wm. Betteridge, August 3rd, 1792, to the end in 1797	10 „
Thos. Cheston, September 7th, 1792, to September, 1793	7 „
Wm. Mander, Dec. 20th, 1792, to June, 1794	7 „
Wm. Bolton, November 2nd, 1792, to June, 1793	6 „

and so on; many others, *e.g.*, Joseph Fellows 21/3/92, Robert Mander 23/7/92, John Pickering 2/11/92, John Turner 1/2/93, William Price 15/3/93, James Wiggett 15/3/93, attending only on the occasion of their own ceremonies, and, though paying full quarterages as members of the Lodge, never appearing again at its meetings.

As a contrast, compare the attendances, out of a possible 106 meetings, by the original members mentioned:—Samuel Porter, 91 times; Wm. James, Junr., 72 times; Samuel Bayliss, 59 times; Anthony Gibbs, 11 times (but he became ill); Wm. James, Senr., 77 times, John Clarke, 90 times; while the first initiate, Wm. Hawkes, attended 81 times.

This much should be said in mitigation, that this Lodge was the cradle of other Lodges, and it by no means follows that these were unworthy Masons or uninterested in the Craft they had joined; many, as we shall see, swarmed off to form other Lodges, and this undoubtedly made the work of the Mother Lodge—and a very young mother at that—more difficult to sustain.

Some records in the Grand Lodge Library, which have been kindly sent to me by Wor. Bro. Wonnacott, give some more information of these founders and some others in whom we shall later be interested.

St. Albans Lodge No. 217 (176 in 1792), Warranted 23.2.1762 (continued working in Birmingham until erased in 1829) has entries:—

Samuel Toy.	æt 37.	Steel Manufacturer.	Initiated 15.11.1785
* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *
William James, Junr.	28.	Attorney.	Henley in Arden 5.7.1791
Saml. Baylis.	25.	Attorney.	Henley in Arden 21.7.1791
Anthy. Gibbs.	—.	Attorney.	— 21.7.1791
William James, Senr.	49.	Innkeeper.	Henley in Arden 6.9.1791
James Bissett.	30.	Miniature Painter.	— 21.2.1792

The original Warrant of the St. Johns Lodge 583 (492) is now in the Grand Lodge Library, but there is no record or trace as to when it arrived there, nor any endorsement as to a re-issue.

Its citation of Petitioners, etc., is as follows:—

“To All and every Our Worshipful and Loving Brethren
We Francis Rawdon Hastings, Lord Rawdon &c. &c. &c. Acting Grand Master under the authority of His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons send greeting.

Know ye that the humble Petition of our right trusty and well beloved Brethren, Samuel Porter, William James junr., Samuel Bayliss, Anthony Gibbs, William James Senior and several other brethren residing in or near Henley in Arden in the County

of Warwick do hereby constitute the said Brethren into a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons under the title or denomination of St. Johns Lodge to be opened at the house of Mr. William James known by the name of the Talbot in Henley in Arden aforesaid. And do further at their said petition and of the great trust and confidence reposed in every of the said Brethren do hereby appoint the said Samuel Porter to be Master, William James the younger, Senior Grand Warden, and Samuel Bayliss junior Grand Warden for opening the said Lodge, and for such further time only as shall be thought proper to the Brethren thereof &c. &c. &c.

* * * * *

Given under our Hand and Seal of Masonry,
15 Oct. A.L. 5791. A.D. 1791."

The acceptance of the name of William James, senior, in whose house the Lodge was to meet, in view of Article IX. of *Book of Constitutions* 1784, "No Master of a Tavern can be a Member of a Lodge held at his house," is notable, as also the use of the terms Senior Grand Warden and Junior Grand Warden.

In the G.L. Register of St. John's Lodge are the following entries respecting these early members:—

Samuel Porter		Portrait painter	Henley in Arden
William James		Attorney	Henley in Arden
Samuel Baylis		Attorney	Henley in Arden
Anthony Gibbs		Farmer	Alston Cantellow
(Date of admission 24.10.1791)			
William James		Innholder	Henley in Arden
John Clarke	27	Grocer	Henley in Arden
William Narmicut	50	Breeches maker	Henley in Arden
William Hawkes	22	Barber	Henley in Arden

It will be noted that the ages of the last three are given, some of the others had their ages entered *on their initiation* in other Lodges.

Meetings.

The Lodge at first had Regular meetings on the 1st and 3rd Mondays in the month, a note to the Minute of the Regular meeting, February 20th, 1792, reading:—"On this Evening a Motion was made by Bro. Telford, & unanimously agreed, that the Lodge be adjourned till the 1st Friday in next month, and from that time to be held in future on the first and third Fridays in each month instead of the Mondays" signed W: Hawkes pro tem Sec^y.

It is interesting to note that Bro. Telford had been raised that evening, having been initiated and passed at the two previous meetings, while Bro. Hawkes had been the first initiate on November 7th and raised on St. John's Day, December 27th, 1791.

They fledged their wings early in those days.

The Minute of December 7th, 1792, reads:—

"It was agreed on the Motion of the Worshipful Master that the next Lodge shall be held on Thursday the 20th of Dec. instead of Friday the 21st, but this alteration is not intended to make any alteration in future Lodge nights."

But though there is no recorded Minute of the decision it appears that by April, 1793, one meeting a month is to be considered the regular interval—only one is held in April—and on Friday, May 3rd, there is a Minute:—

"Agreed to hold Lodge this day fortnight."

This was done, and the meeting is called a Regular one, but thereafter, except for emergencies, meetings are on the first Fridays of the month, while in the winter months, November to March, Regular meetings were also held on the third Fridays. This appears to have been the plan also in 1794, monthly meetings being held from April to October; but the bi-monthly meetings were not resumed that winter, and the monthly meetings were continued regularly until March, 1797; then there was a gap till November,—then a silence of fourteen years.

Emergency meetings were very frequently held, and apparently without let or hindrance by any Bye-Laws of the Lodge, or rules of superior authority.

Usually there is a Minute of a decision at the previous regular meeting to hold an emergency meeting on such and such a date, and it is held and Masonic business duly enacted. On two occasions there is an entry in the Treasurer's Book of a sum of 8/-, which appears to have been the charge made to the Candidate for whom the emergency meeting was held. February 2nd, 1793, Bro. Kendrick, and March 16th, 1793, Bro. Wiggett.

Nor was much interval sometimes left; for instance, on two occasions the emergency meeting was held the day after the Regular Lodge. February 1st and 2nd, 1793. March 15th and 16th, 1793. And on another occasion after a day's interval, December 20th and 22nd, 1793; while earlier meetings had been held June 1st and 4th, 1792.

It will be instructive to look at the Minutes of these dates:—

“Regular Lodge. June 1. 1792.

The Worshipful Master Sam Porter in the Chair

Bro. Jno. Clarke S.W. P.T.

Bro. Saml. Bayliss J.W.

Brothers Thomas Mountford & Wm. Izod raised to the Honble. degree of Master Masons.

A Lecture given by the Rev. Jno. Whitmore on the occasion with great ability.

Bro. John Zouch made an entered apprentice for which he paid £3.3. and was purposed to be pass'd & rais'd on Monday next. A Lecture from the Chair in the first, second and third Steps of Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in harmony, in due time, with all Honours paid to the Grand. A. Gibbs. Secretary.

[There were twelve members present and two visitors.]

Lodge of Emergency. June 4, 1792.

The Worshipful Master Bro. Porter in the Chair

Bro. Jno. Clark S.W. P.T.

Bro. Saml. Bayliss J.W.

Bros. William London & John Zouch passed & raised to the Sublime degree of Master Masons.

A Lecture from the Chair on the 1st, 2nd, & 3rd. Steps of Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in harmony, with all Honours paid to the Grand. W. Hawkes P.T. Secy."

[There were thirteen present and twelve visitors.]

This may have been the occasion of the Consecration of the Lodge to which further attention will be given later. The date of Consecration is not given in Lane's record.

It is noticeable that the Secretary had written that Bro. Sketchley was in the Chair P.T., but Bro. Porter, with his flourishing handwriting, had erased this and substituted his own name. It is probable that Bro. Sketchley, from Birmingham, presided at earlier or later proceedings of which no record has been kept.

The expression "sublime degree" is here used for the first time in these Minutes, in place of "Honourable" which had always formerly been used; it is continued afterwards in the Minutes throughout, except on a very few occasions when there is a re-appearance of the earlier phrase.¹

Then in 1793:—

“Regular Lodge. Feb. 1. 1793.

The Worshipful Master Saml. Porter in the Chair

Bro. Jno. Telford S.W. P.T.

Bro. Saml. Bayliss J.W.

Thomas Kendrick proposed as a Candidate for Masonry by Bro. Clarke balloted for and accepted.

Robert Southall proposed as a candidate for Masonry balloted for and accepted... having paid 10^s/6^d.

Br. Busby passed Fellow Craft.

Br. Kendrick made an entered apprentice, Br. John Turner made an enter'd apprentice each having paid the sum of Three guineas.

¹ There is no special significance in this. Wor. Bro. Wonnacott states that at this period the Third Degree is often spoken of as the honourable, or sublime, or respectable degree. In *Freemasonry in Bristol*, p. 67, Minutes of the Sun Lodge of Perpetual Friendship No. 421, 1768, show for July 11th, 1768, "Sublime degree of a Master Mason," and August 8th, 1768, "Sublime degree of a Royal Arch Mason."

Bro. Busby proposed to be raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason, the next Regular Lodge night.

Br. Turner proposed to be passed Fellow Craft the next Regular Lodge night.

Upon the motion of the Worshipful Master it is agreed to Call a Lodge of Emergency for the purpose of passing and raising our Br. Kendrick to morrow evening business of importance calling him from this country.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony, with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod. Secy.

[There were nine members and two visitors present.]

Lodge of Emergency. Feb. 2. 1793.

The Worshipful Master Saml. Porter in the Chair

Br. Wm. James S.W.

Br. S. Bayliss J.W.

Br. Tho^s. Kendrick passed Fellow Craft. & raised to the Sublime degree of a Master Mason.

A Lecture from the Chair on the First, Second, & Third Steps in Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony, with all honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod Sec.

[There were six members present.]

Regular Lodge. March 15. 1793.

The Worshipfull Ma^r. Saml. Porter—in the Chair

Br. Wm. James Sen^r. Warden

Br. John Whitmore Jun^r. Warden P.T.

James Wiggett proposed a Candidate for Masonry ballotted for & accepted—made an enter'd apprentice for which he paid the sum of Three guineas—it was agreed to call a Lodge of Emergency on Saturday evening for the purpose of passing & raising our Br. Wiggett aforesaid.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step in Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod. Secy.

[There were ten members and one visitor present.]

Lodge of Emergency. Mar. 16. 1793.

The Worshipfull Master Saml. Porter in the Chair

Br. Wm. James Sen^r. Warden

Br. Wm. Hawkes Jun^r. Warden P.T.

Br. James Wiggett passed Fellow Craft & rais'd to the Honbl. degree of Master Mason.

Tho^s. Jones & Wm. Hansell nominated candidates for Masonry, each having paid 10^s/6^d.

A Lecture from the Chair on the First, Second, & Third Steps of Masonry.

The Lodge Clos'd in due time, in perfect harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod. Sec.

[There were five members and one visitor present.]

Regular Lodge. Dec. 20. 1793.

Br. Wm. James S.W. in the Chair P.T.

Br. W. Manley S.W. P.T.

Br. Wm. Hawkes J.W. P.T.

A Lecture from the Chair on the First Step in Masonry.

It was unanimously agreed, in conformity to the wish of the Worshipfull Master that this Lodge do visit the Stratford Lodge on Friday the 27th day of December, being the Feast of St. John, and that this Lodge meet at the hour of Ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th day of Dec. aforesaid for the purpose of installing new Officers or continuing those already in Office.

It was likewise agreed that a Lodge of Emergency be called on Sunday Dec. 22 at the hour of 6 o'clock in the evening.

This being the day appointed for the nomination of Officers our Worthy Bro. James was proposed to fill the Chair for the ensuing year & unanimously elected.

Br. Saml Bayliss proposed as S.W. & accepted

Br. Wm. Hawkes " J.W. "

Br. Jno. Clarke " Treasurer "

Br. Wm. Izod " Secy. "

Br. Wm. Betteridge " Steward "

It was ordered that special Summonses be sent by the Secretary to every Member of this Lodge requesting their attendance on Friday 27th Day of Dec^r. at the hour of 10 o'clock in the morning on business of Emergency.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod Secy.

[There were seven members present.]

Lodge of Emergency the 22nd day of Dec^r. 1793.

The Worshipfull Master Saml. Porter in the Chair

Br. Wm. James S.W.

Br. Saml. Bayliss J.W.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first step in Masonry.

Our right worshipful Master Saml. Porter was pleased to nominate our Worthy Bro. James as his successor, who was unanimously elected Br. Saml. Bayliss S.W.
Br. Wm. Hawkes J.W. Br. Jno. Clarke Treasurer. Br. Wm. Izod. Sec.
Br. Betteridge. Steward.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect harmony, with all Honors paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod. Sec."

[There were seven members present.]

Although the nett result appears to be the same it looks as though the "Right Worshipful Master Saml. Porter" wished them to understand he had to give his *congé d'élire*.

The visit to Stratford by many members occurred on St. John's Day, but there was not an official visit by the Lodge, and there is, therefore, no Minute recorded of a meeting at ten in the morning, nor of any business done; for W. Bro. Porter was himself installed as W.M. of the new Lodge.

The Installation of the St. John's Lodge Officers occurred at the Regular Lodge meeting on January 15th, when nine members were present and one visitor, Bro. James, Senr., of whom more anon.

On three occasions these emergency meetings were held on Sunday, viz., May 13th, 1792, when the Consecration ceremonies were discussed with the Brethren from Birmingham (Jas. Bisset was in the S.W. Chair); December 22nd, 1793, when, as just noticed, the W.M. Saml. Porter was "pleased to nominate" his successor in the Chair, and March 16th, 1794, when nothing particular was done except that certain nominations of Candidates were made, and these were ballotted for at the next Lodge night on the following Friday, with no other recorded business, but the "first Step."

This question of Sunday meetings of Lodges had given rise to much controversy in various parts of the country during this period, but appears to have been accepted with complete equanimity by this Lodge.

Such extracts will suffice to give a picture of the free and easy way in which Emergency meetings were held—generally when there was any special event forthcoming, work would be speeded up by a series of emergency meetings, so that all might be qualified to attend, and then there would be a succession of somewhat barren and ill-attended Regular Lodge nights.

Officers.

It has been clear also from the foregoing extracts what *officers* were appointed. Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, Secretary, Treasurer and Tyler—a Chaplain when Bro. Whitmore joined them (who was given the office in virtue of his profession and was not filling a normal office of the Lodge)—and on one occasion—December, 1793—as quoted, and only on that occasion—a Steward.

No Deacons. No Inner Guard. No Director of Ceremonies. No Organist, nor any indication of concerted music appears except for one entry—a sad one—on October 4th, 1793, when there was an unusual attendance of fifteen members and three visitors:—

"Our Bro. Cheston having been unfortunately killed by a fall from his Horse, this evening was set apart as a time of Mourning for that event.

An Ode & Elegy sung on the occasion, an Oration was likewise deliver'd by our brother James with great ability, After which the Lodge clos'd in due time in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand."

There is an entry in the Treasurer's Book, March 11th, 1794: "Paid to Bro. Sketchley for Odes, Elegys, Hatchments &c. &c. £2.14.6," and it is presumed that most of this must have been paid for the Hatchments, &c., &c.,

And also, October 4th, 1793: "Paid man for putting up the mourning 3s. 6d."

Such funeral or memorial meetings were commonly held by Lodges at that period, and sometimes were of an elaborate character such as still obtains in many Continental and some Colonial Lodges.

The status of Past Master was evidently recognised in the Lodge. After two years in the office of W.M., Saml. Porter gives place to his S.W., Bro. Wm. James, jun., and almost invariably afterwards signs his name in the Tyler's Book

as Saml. Porter P.M.; while if holding any office the entry is sometimes made in the Minutes with this additional title, *e.g.*, Apl. 3. 1795. Saml. Porter PM as W.M. P.T. Sep. 4. 1795. Br. Saml. Porter PM as S.W. P.T. Oct. 2. 1795. The Worshipful Saml. Porter P.M. as Master P.T. And similarly, after vacating the position of W.M., Bro. James signs himself in the Tyler's Book, May 6. 1796, as P.M., and on July 1. 1796 as PM. M. P.T., and again, Oct. 7. 1796, P.M., on which occasion, as he was acting as Secretary, he signs the Minutes in full, Wm. James. Past Master. Secy. P.T.

It was rare that any other than an installed Master was in the Chair—sometimes a Visitor who presumably held that rank was given the honour; but there was evidently no invariable rule that this must be so—for on the Regular Lodge, September 2nd, 1796, we have:—Bro. Wm. Izod as Worshipful Master in the Chair. Br. Wm. Fitter S.W. P.T. Bro. Jno. Chambers J.W., and this Minute: “Br. Walker being proposed to be raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason, but their being a small lodge it was deferred to a futer night.” There were six Master Masons present, including the Tyler, but evidently they were not so venturesome as were the ardent spirits of 1791.

Bro. Leigh, the acting Secretary, had his own notions of spelling—giving future as “futer,” and spelling Harmony with a capital A on this and other occasions. Bro. Izod had done much service as Secretary for four years, but had never served as Warden.

It is doubtful to what extent there was a ceremony of installation of the Master.

On May 3rd, 1792, we have allusion to the forthcoming Ceremony of Constitution, Consecration, and Installation, though there is no record of that ceremony.

On January 15th, 1794, we have the Minute: “This being the day appointed for the installation of officers, the following Brethren were regularly installed for the present year.”

It must be admitted that the word “Installation” is used somewhat loosely, both as applying to the Ceremony at the Consecration of a New Lodge and the appointment of junior officers.

On February 5th, 1796, we have the Minute: “Bro. Porter was installed as Right Worshipful Master for the year ensuing. After the installment of the Master, the Right Worshipful installed his Officers in due form for the coming year.”

On December 2nd, 1796, the Minute reads: “Bro. Saml. Bayliss elected Master for the ensuing year”; and, at the meeting on St. John's Day, “the installation of the Officers for the ensuing year” is alluded to in a very imperfectly written Minute by Wm. Leigh.

Evidently there was a ceremonial at the investment of officers, but whether there was any “Master's part” with a special ceremony carried out by Installed Masters alone is more than doubtful.

Places of Meeting.

The Lodge met from its first formation at the Talbot Hotel, Henley in Arden, and continued there until June, 1795, when it was moved to the White Lion, or Hockley House, kept by Mr. Ferdinando Babbington, at Hockley Heath, about five miles to the North on the main road to Birmingham. The full Minutes relating to this move are thus given:—

“Regular Lodge. 1st May 1795

The Worshipful Master Wm. James in the Chair

Br. Bayliss. S.W.

Br. Wm. Hawkes J.W. P.T.

Brothers Court & Leigh passed Fellow Crafts, a Lecture from the Chair on the first and second Steps in Masonry. Order'd by the Master that summonses be sent to all members requesting their attendance at an early hour on this day fortnight respecting the removal of the Lodge. Resolved that members to put in writing (as its ordered that the Lodge shall be removed) what house they wish the Lodge removed to, and lay the same on the pedestal immediately after the Master's taking the Chair.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod. Secy.
[There were thirteen attending.]

Regular Lodge. May 15. 1795

The Worshipful Master William James in the Chair
Br. Sam Bayliss. S.W.
Br. J. Mountford. J.W.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step in Masonry. It was determin'd by a Majority that this Lodge shall be removed to Mr. Ferdinando Babbington's the White Lion or Hockley House and it was order'd that this Lodge do assemble at Hockley House aforesaid on the first Friday in June next.

The Lodge closed in due time in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod Secy.

It was order'd that the thanks of the Lodge be given to Wm. Narmicott for his good conduct during the time he has acted as Tyler.
[There were sixteen attending.]

Regular Lodge. 5th day of June 1795

The Worshipful Master Wm. James in the Chair
Br. John Clarke S.W. P.T.
Br. John Chambers J.W. P.T.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step of Masonry. The Lodge (having been removed to Hockley by the consent of the members) was dedicated in due form by the Master.

Some serious admonitions from the Chair on the great Masonic Virtue Secrecy.

A Lecture from the Chair on the Second Step of Masonry.

Mr. Wm. Fitter proposed as a Candidate for Masonry by our Worthy Bro. Clarke.

The Lodge clos'd in due time, in perfect Harmony with all Honours to the Grand. Wm. Izod Secy.
[There were seven attending.]

Regular Lodge. 3rd July 1795

The Worshipful Master Wm. James in the Chair
Br. Saml Porter S.W. P.T.
Br. J. Chambers J.W. P.T.

W. Fitter proposed last night a Candidate for Masonry by Brother Clarke ballotted for & accepted.

It was order'd that the Secretary write to the Grand Lodge informing Br. White of the removal of this Lodge from the Talbot Henley to Hockley House, to be held on the same day. It is order'd Brother Leigh & Br. Court be rais'd to the sublime degree of Master Masons.

The Lodge clos'd in due time in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. James Secy. P.T.
[There were ten present.]

The Innholder of Hockley House, Bro. Ferdinando Babbington, had been initiated in this Lodge on April 4th, 1794, and passed and raised on June 6th; he had attended the meetings on six other occasions on two of which he had acted as Senior Warden: it is interesting to note that when the Lodge was moved to his house he ceased to be a subscribing member, in accordance with Article IX. of the *Book of Constitutions* 1784, always signing the Tyler's Book thereafter as a Visitor, and though there is no entry of his paying the Visitor's fee of 2s. 6d. to the Treasurer, possibly this was met by some contra account.

The second removal came at the end of the Lodge's short first period, and the story is told in the Minutes of February 3rd and March 3rd, 1797:—

“Regular Lodge. Feb. 3. 1797.

The Worshipfull Master S. Baylis in the Chair
Br. Wm. Hawkes S.W. P.T.
Br. J. Chambers J.W.

It being proposed by our Worshipful Master S. Baylis that the Treasurer's accounts be investigated, such were found in such a situation, and the Lodge indebted to a considerable amount, 'twas found necessary to adopt a plan to pay the Arears, and form a system for the better regulation of its finances.

A Motion was made by Br. James for the removal of the Lodge, was seconded and thirded,—and the Worshipful Master gave orders that summonses be given out to all Members for their attendance on the next Regular Lodge night on above mentioned business. A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step of Masonry, the Lodge closed in perfect harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand.

S. Porter. Secy. P.T.

[There were nine members present and one visitor.]

Regular Lodge. Mar. 3. 1797.

The Worshipfull Master S. Bayliss in the Chair

Br. Wm. Hawkes S.W. P.T.

Br. Jno. Chambers J.W.

The business of the night respecting the removal of the Lodge being brought forward was carried by a Majority in favour of the Removal to the George, in Henley in Arden to be there held as soon as convenient by the order of the Master. A Motion was made by Brother Porter and unanimously agreed to by all the Brethren present that a Vote of thanks be given to our Worthy Brother Babbington for his good behaviour and satisfactory accommodation of this Lodge during the time of its being held at his House. It being the W.Master's orders that the next Lodge be held at The George, Henley in Arden above mentioned.

The Lodge clos'd in perfect Harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand.

Wm. Leigh Sec'."

[There were twelve members present.]

It was moved accordingly, but only two emergency meetings were held there, one on November 10th, 1797, the other (to give it a revival by proposing a more distant move) on March 8th, 1811.

Masonic Work.

It will be of interest to look a little more closely at some of the work done.

From the many Minutes that have already been read *in extenso* several unusual phrases and expressions will have been noticed.

"The Lodge Clos'd in due time in perfect Harmony with All Honours paid to the Grand."

This is the invariable closing phrase.

It is always "in due time," never the more familiar "in due form."

"All Honours paid to the Grand"—an interesting and unusual phrase—What were these Honours? And how paid? The suggestion has been made that they consisted of what we now call 'having another one'; but, though drinking and smoking were common practices during Lodge meetings throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century, this scarcely seems to be in keeping with the general tenour of practice in this Lodge during the period when they had been called from refreshment to labour.

Lectures are frequently mentioned—and in particular, Lectures on the First, Second, and Third Steps of Masonry. What were these? The word Step in this connection is a noticeable, but not an uncommon expression. Plainly it cannot refer to the mode of approach from West to East since the work is termed a 'Lecture,' not a demonstration. Preston's *Illustrations of Free Masonry* was very largely used in Lodges at this period (it was then, as we have recalled, in its eighth edition), and gave model lectures for the different degrees, but their divisions are called Sections, not Steps.

The question has been raised as to what evidence there is that the three separate Steps corresponded in any way to the three degrees, and I think it can be shown that there was an essential correspondence.

Though there is nowhere any statement that Brethren of a lower degree were excluded from the Lodge whilst a lecture was being given which they were not entitled to hear, in many instances the sequence of the work would lead one to regard this exclusion as extremely probable.

For instance—look at three almost consecutive Minutes in the Autumn of 1792:—

"Regular Lodge. Sep. 7. 1792.

Thomas Cheston was made an entered Apprentice for which he paid the sum of Three Guineas.

A lecture from the Chair on the Five Orders of Architecture and likewise on the First Step of Masonry.

Br. Betteridge rais'd to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

A Lecture on Mortality by our worthy Bro. Whitmore.

A Lecture on the third Step of Masonry by our much respected Right Worshipful Master.

Regular Lodge. Oct. 5. 1792.

Br. Powell and Br. Cheston past Fellow Craft * * *

Br. Barke rais'd to the Honourable Degree of Master Mason.

A Lecture on the First and Second Steps of Masonry from the Master in the Chair.

A Lecture on the Third Step of Masonry.

A Lecture on Mortality delivered by our Bro. Whitmore with great ability."

The ceremonies and lectures are put together in their own group here, but it is probable that Bro. Barke alone of these three was permitted to hear the Third.

"Regular Lodge. Nov. 2. 1792.

Br. Cheston rais'd to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

A Lecture on Mortality by our worthy Brother Whitmore.

John Pickering made an enter'd apprentice, and William Bolton likewise made an entered apprentice

A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step of Masonry."

The Lecture on the Third Step appears to have been omitted on this evening, and Bro. Cheston was not again in the Lodge at a time when that lecture was given; but it is noticeable that he is given Bro. Whitmore's Lecture on Mortality (which on the two previously mentioned meetings had been associated with the Third Step lecture, and is not again alluded to in the Lodge's history).

It is to be hoped that Bro. Cheston had not been regaled with this particular "Mortality" lecture at his Initiation, Passing, and Raising—and it is much more likely that he had been excluded on the two previous occasions when it, and the Third Step lecture were given. There is a pathetic reason why we should have this hope, since his own fate was to be killed by a fall from his horse less than a year afterwards.

In the Table of Attendances, etc., which is appended to this paper, the dates on which these First, Second, and Third Step Lectures were given have been marked, and any Brother curiously inclined can search in detail for the special ceremonies done on the nights that any particular lecture or lectures were given. But a summary may briefly be stated:—

Lectures on the Steps of Masonry were given at ninety-one meetings.

<i>First Step only.</i>	43 times, at which M.M.'s only were present 16 times M.M.'s & F.C.'s ,, ,, once E.A.'s also present 26 times
<i>Second Step only.</i>	not at all.
<i>Third Step only.</i>	once.
<i>First & Second Steps.</i>	15 times, at which M.M.'s only were present 2 times M.M.'s & F.C.'s ,, ,, 10 times E.A.'s also present 3 times (but probably excluded)
<i>First, Second & Third Steps.</i>	31 times, at which M.M.'s only were present 20 times F.C.'s also present 8 times (but probably excluded) E.A.'s also present 7 times (but probably excluded)
<i>First & Third Steps.</i>	once.
<i>Second & Third Steps.</i>	not at all.

It was most usual during the meetings of the first two years when no ceremony was performed for the Lecture on all three Steps, and during the second two years for the Lecture on the First Step only, to be given.

From this summary it is quite apparent that the Lecture definitely corresponded with the Degree being conferred, and was work intended mainly to impress the Candidate newly admitted to that Degree.

In *Freemasonry in Bristol*, page 55, Wor. Bro. Powell states that at the Lodge at the Crown No. 220, 1757: "The Lecture of one or other of the degrees was given at nearly every meeting, as part of the usual routine, and, when it was omitted, the fact was generally recorded, together with the reason for such omission."

Other Lectures were given from time to time either by the Master, or some other Brother (in the early days it was usually the Rev. John Whitmore), the subjects being:—

- “The Science of Geometry,”
- “The Rise, Progress, Intent, and Meaning of Masonry,”
- “Brotherly Love,”
- “The Five Orders of Architecture,”
- “Mortality,”
- “The General Principles of Masonry,”
- “The Origin and Progress of Masonry,”
- “That Pleasing Masonic Virtue Humility,”
- “The particular duties of Masons and the excellency of Freemasonry,”
- “The Great Masonic Virtue Secrecy.”

Some further comments on the Lectures given and proposed to be given in Lodge will be made when noticing the characteristics of the Second W.M., William James, junr.

The frequent mention of Propositions in the Lodge before Passing and Raising will have been noticed.

This is not infrequently found elsewhere during the eighteenth century, and was in some parts, and generally in foreign Lodges at that time, accompanied by a ballot before each degree.

Whatever view we may take of the significance of these Propositions in this Lodge, there was certainly at no time any balloting before Passing or Raising.

In his paper on *The Maid's Head Lodge, Norwich; 1724*, recently contributed to this Lodge by Bro. G. W. Daynes (A.Q.C. xxxviii.), he states that the general custom of the Lodge for many years was for resolutions (“nearly always”) to be passed agreeing to Brethren receiving the various Degrees.

If we take one or two of the Minutes of the St. John's Lodge by themselves it might be supposed that the custom also obtained in this Lodge.

For example:—

Minute of May 3rd, 1793:—

“Wm. Manley made an Enter'd apprentice for which he paid the sum of £2.12.6 having before paid 10/6.

Bro. William Mander was proposed to be passed Fellow Craft.

Bro. Abel A. Morral proposed to be passed Fellow Craft.

Bro. W. Mander passed Fellow Craft.

Bro. Abel Andrew Morral pass'd Fellow Craft.”

Minute June 3rd, 1796:—

“By a motion made by Br. Clarke that Br. Walker be Past to a Fellow Craft, Br. Bannister being proposed on a former night, that the be both Past next Lodge night &c. &c.”

But the first of these occasions is the only one on which proposition is made before the Ceremony of Passing on the same night, and although on the second occasion it looks as though the inference might fairly be drawn that proposition at some time in Lodge was necessary before Passing could be permitted, the usual custom of the Lodge by no means bears this out.

The effect of these propositions appears most generally to be in the nature of a proposal of the business that should be taken by the Brethren at an ensuing meeting; though I think the explanation may also be that there is here a vestige of stricter custom obtaining perhaps in earlier Lodges, which these Brethren had been told it was desirable should be followed.

As the point may be of interest I have tabulated the occasions on which such propositions were made, and given the exact terms used so that such evidence as they afford may be available.

It will be noticed that on the first two occasions the word used is "Purposed." Samuel Porter, who was careful in his choice of words, had written the first, but Anthony Gibbs, on writing the second, added the word "was," as though leaning to the idea of "proposed"—but the frequency with which the words "intended," "ordered," "agreed" occur in place of "proposed" points clearly, I think, to the actual meaning that was placed upon this procedure by these Brethren.

It appears relevant also to note the Minute of August 21st, 1795:—

"Mr. Jno Sanders ballotted for & accepted, and upon the motion of a Br., it is ordered that he be made an enter'd Apprentice the next regular Lodge night";
and of 4th September, 1795:—

"Br. Jno. Sanders being on a journey it's order'd that he be made an enter'd apprentice the next regular Lodge night";
where much the same wording is used with reference to the E.A. degree.

Passing 25 times.

No note of previous proposition, 13 times.

23/5/92

1/6/92 Bro. Zouch was purposed to be passed
& raised on Monday next.
A. Gibbs. Sec.

3/8/92

7/9/92 Powell } Proposed to pass Bros.
Cheston } Powell & Cheston to F.C.
next regular Lodge night.

5/10/92

18/1/93 Mander } Proposed by the W.M. to
Busby } be passed F.C. the next
regular Lodge night.

1/2/93

Turner. Proposed to be passed F.C. the next regular Lodge night.

Kendrick: agreed to call a lodge of Emergency for the purpose of passing & raising, to-morrow evening.

15/3/93 Wiggett.

3/5/93 W. Mander } Proposed to be passed F.C.
A. Morral } (both passed that meeting)

1/11/93 Sarsons } Addendum to Minute
Bishop } Agreed that they be passed
& raised the next regular
Lodge night.

21/2/94 Mann. It was ordered that he be
passed F.C. the next regular
Lodge night.

5/3/95

3/4/95 Court } Ordered on the motion of
Leigh } Mr. Chambers to be passed
the next regular Lodge
night.

3/7/95

Raising 23 times.

No note of previous proposition, 11 times.

Wm. Izod } Purpos'd to be raised the
T. Mountford } next Regular Lodge night.
S. Porter. Sec.

Barke } Intended to be raised to the
Betteridge } Honble degree of M.M. the
next regular Lodge night.

Powell } Proposed to be raised to the
Cheston } Honble degree of M.M. the
next regular Lodge night.

Busby. Proposed to be raised to the sublime
degree of M.M. the next regular
Lodge night.

It was agreed to call an emergency
meeting on Saturday evening for
the purpose of passing & raising.

Chambers. It was ordered that Br. C. be
raised to the sublime degree of
M.M. the next Lodge night.

Court } It is order Brother Leigh &
Leigh } Br. Court be raised to the
sublime degree of M.M.'s.

7/8/95 Leigh. Ordered that as Bro. Leigh's raising was postponed he shall be raised the next regular Lodge night.

6/11/95 Fitter Westwood } On a motion being unanimously agreed on our W.M. agrees to pass Br. fitter & pass & raise Br. Westwood the next Lodge night.

4/3/96 Bannister. Upon the motion of Br. Leigh it was ordered that Br. Bannister be passed Fellow Craft the next regular Lodge night.

Fitter. On the motion of Br. Clarke was order'd to be rais'd to the Honbl degree of Mas^r. Mason the next regular Lodge night.

3/6/96 Walker. By a motion being made by Br. Clarke that Br. Walker be past to a Fellow Craft Br. Bannister being proposed on a former night that the be both Past next Lodge night &c. &c.

Now, with regard to the Ceremonies.

The following is the first Minute in the book:—

“Regular Lodge. 7 Nov. 1791.

The Worshipful Master Saml Porter in the Chair

Brother. Wm. James junr. S.W.

Bro. John Clarke pro tem. J.W.

Wm. Hawkes was made an enter'd Apprentice for which he is to pay £2.12.6 and has paid 10/6, making in the whole £3.3.0.

A Lecture from the Chair on the First Step of Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in Harmony, in due time, with all Honours paid to the Grand. Anth^y. Gibbs Sec^y.”

And the attendance book shows as being present: Saml. Porter, Master, Wm. James, jun., Sen. War., John Clark, pro tem. J.W., Anthy. Gibbs, Sec., Wm. James, sen., Treasr, Wm. Hawkes, and Wm. Narmicott, Tyler.

Wm. Hawkes was passed to Fellow Craft on November 21st, and paid the balance of his fees.

On December 5th there is the nomination of Thos. Mountford, but beyond the usual Lecture from the Chair, no other business. But at the emergency meeting held on St. John's Day, December 27th, “the Brethren attended Divine Service together in the morning, and dined at the Lodge held at the Talbot Inn.”

The Officers were Samuel Porter, W.M., Saml. Bayliss, pro tem. S.W., and John Clark, pro tem. J.W., and it is recorded that at this meeting Bros. Narmecutt, Clark, and Hawkes were rais'd to the Honbl. Degree of Master Masons.

The Tyler and the Junior Warden!—two out of the six who were present at the initiation of Wm. Hawkes.

But wait! Bro. Gibbs, the Secretary, is absent for three meetings, but turns up on February 6th, when we get the following interesting entry:—

“Regular Lodge. Feb. 6. 1792.

The Worshipful Master Br. S. Porter in the Chair

Br. Saml. Baylis S.W.

Br. Wm. Hawkes J.W. P.T.

Our Worthy Br. Anthony Gibbs, raised to the Honbl. degree of a Master Mason. Our Worthy Bros. John Telford & Wm. Bristow past Fellow Crafts, a Lecture from the Chair on the First, Second, & Third steps of Masonry—the Lodge clos'd in Harmony, in due time with all Honours paid to the Grand.

Anthony Gibbs. Sec^y.”

Three out of the six at that first recorded initiation not Master Masons, leaving only Samuel Porter and the William Jameses who had attained that rank; presumably those two other members Clark and Gibbs, and the Tyler, were Fellow Crafts. But is it likely that there would have been three in that incomplete state who had been initiated and passed elsewhere, and who would, in that small community, be ready to leave their own Lodge to help form a new one, and be raised in it?

No! The significance of those two meetings on October 24th and 31st, of which no Minute was kept, becomes greater than at first appeared; they were evidently not merely the preliminary meetings at which the business affairs of the new Lodge were discussed, but were the occasions when Anthony Gibbs, John Clarke, and the Tyler, Wm. Narmecutt, were initiated, or passed.

At the first meeting (October 24th) we have recorded, as being present: Saml. Porter, Wm. James, junr., S. W., Saml. Bayliss, J.W., Anthony Gibbs, Wm. James, senr., John Clark, and Wm. Narmecutt, Tyler, with one visitor not seen again at this Lodge, Br. Wm. Hope.

We have seen that Anthony Gibbs was initiated in the St. Alban's Lodge on July 21st that year. Evidently those four Brethren, assisted by Bro. Hope, initiated those other two and possibly passed Anthony Gibbs and one or other of them as well.

At the second meeting (October 31st) there were present: Saml. Porter, W.M., Wm. James, junr., S.W., Saml. Bayliss, J.W., Wm. James, senr., Tr., Anthony Gibbs, Sec., John Clark, and Wm. Narmecutt, Tyler, so unless one of the three had already been passed, there could not have been five F.C.'s present; but it is evident that all three had been passed by November 7th.

How careful Saml. Porter was to see that there was regularity in the record of a candidate's ceremonies is shown by an entry in this Minute of St. John's Day, December 27th. There were six members present, including John Clarke, Wm. Hawkes, and the Tyler, Narmecutt, who were raised that night. One visitor who signed the Tyler's Book, Jos. Thompson, on several other occasions acted as pro tem. Tyler when visiting this Lodge, but this would only leave four F.C.'s present at the raising. One other visitor, Bro. Wm. Adair, was, however, present, but omitted to sign the Tyler's Book, and his name is entered in the Minute Book, with that of Br. Jos. Thompson, as being present at the ceremony; the only occasion on which such an entry is added to any of the Minutes.

This presumption as to what had taken place at those two early meetings makes it the more interesting to search whether there may have been earlier Minutes; but the state of the Secretary's Book, already very minutely described (in view of this interest) makes it impossible to believe that any earlier Minute was recorded in it and lost, and the omission must be taken to be intentional. It should be noted that no formal Constitution of the Lodge was made until the following June, though such delay was very customary and did not prevent a Lodge starting work when once its Warrant had been issued or a Dispensation granted.

Some instances occur where the deliberate procedure is followed of nomination (at which a deposit of half-a-guinea appears to have been required), balloting, and the three separate degrees having been taken at different meetings, with occasionally several months elapsing between the first proposal and the sublime degree, but many, and perhaps the majority, are found where the proposal, balloting, and one or more degrees are crowded quickly on one another, and, as we have seen in the cases of Bros. Zouch and Kendrick already quoted, only a day or two elapsed between their balloting and acceptance and their completion of the circuit of Craft Masonry.

The briefest, tersest entry telling of such speedy working occurs under March 21st, 1792, at a Lodge of Emergency:—

"Bro Jos^{ph}. Fellows was nominated, ballotted for & accepted; made, pass'd, & raised having paid the sum of three guineas."

The Register of Grand Lodge shows that he was a Bookkeeper, *æt* 32, living in Worcester.

When yielding to the stimulus of impending occasions of special interest much work would be crowded into one evening. For instance, on the two evenings May 17th and 22nd, 1793: there were three candidates initiated, four passed, and one raised, on the first night, and at the emergency meeting, five days later, six raised.

Again, on July 29th, 1794, at an emergency meeting, one candidate was given all three degrees, another passed and raised, and a third raised, this being pursuant of a resolution of the Lodge at the Regular meeting on July 4th:—

"An invitation being given from the Alcester Lodge to our Worshipful Master for attendance of this respectfull Lodge at their Installation, which is fixed for the 30th of July next. It is therefore requested by our Right Worshipful that a Lodge of Emergency be called for the bringing forward our Bro^s. Payton & Wyde for the above installation, and that they may have an opportunity of seeing the Consecration."

The complete Minute of that emergency meeting of July 29th is worth reading in full, for it appears that in the interval some other person still more urgently desired to be prepared for attendance at that Alcester ceremony the next day:—

"Lodge of Emergency. 29th July 1794.

The Worshipful Master Wm. James in the Chair

Br. Saml. Bayliss S.W.

Br. John Telford J.W. P.T.

Mr. John Taylor nominated a Candidate for Masonry by our Worthy Br. Betteridge, ballotted for & accepted.

Mr. John Taylor aforesaid, by special desire of the Lodge, made an enter'd apprentice, for which he paid the sum of £3.3.0.

Br. John Taylor passed Fellow Craft.

Br. Saml. Wild likewise passed Fellow Craft.

Br. Saml. Wild aforesaid rais'd to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

Brs. John Taylor & Joseph Payton likewise raised to the sublime degree of Master Masons.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first & second steps of Masonry.

The Lodge clos'd in due time in perfect harmony with all Honours paid to the Grand. Wm. Izod Sec^y.

This meeting was one of the best attended during the whole history of the Lodge, fourteen members and seven visitors being present.

Two years later, at the Regular Lodge, May 6th, 1796, we find the following almost apologetic entry by a P.T. Sec^y. Wm. Leigh who had been a Mason and a member of the Lodge for but one year:—

"Mr. Jos. Walker proposed as a candidate for Masonry by our Worthy Br. Chambers paying the sum of half a guinea, ballotted for & accepted, and, as he comes forward recommended by the whole Lodge, as well as by two visiting Brethren, to be a man who has spent a Life of near 60 years in the practice of Virtue Morality, and Christian Piety, and has by the vouchers of several Brethren, viz. Chambers, Fitter &c. for several months since expressed a Uniform Desire to become a Mason. The Master (after having searched for precedents, and finding that in more than one instance a Dispensing power has been exercised by the Master for the time being) thinks himself justified under all these particular Circumstances and Considerations to Depart from what he has considered to be a General Rule by consenting to make him the same night.

Br. Jos. Walker made an enter'd apprentice."

And the W.M. that evening was the same W.M.—Wm. James—as at the meeting on July 29th, 1794! He must have had a long "search for precedents!"

And, indeed, there had been another interesting instance in the interval—again with Bro. Wm. James, jun., in the Chair—and the experienced Saml. Porter acting as Secretary.

It was just after the move from The Talbot at Henley to Hockley, and on November 6th, 1795, we have the Minute:—

"The Lodge being in want of a Tyler—Br. Porter proposed an inhabitant of Hockley (John Westwood) as a proper person (of good morals and well reported) to fill such office, was ballotted for, and accepted, and though it being contrary to the Bye Laws of this Lodge to Ballot & make on the Same night, yet, this being a case of emergency it was thought expedient by the W.M. and Brethren present he be made an entered Apprentice this night.

With much ability our W.M. gave the Candidate the first charge of his office."

And the timid Secretary of next May was one of the six members present on that occasion!

On those occasions when there were no candidates in any degree, there was generally the usual Lecture from the Chair, and sometimes discussion would fill out the time—*e.g.*, on August 2nd, 1793, we read: "After a debate serious and instructive on the Intent & meaning of Masonry, the Lodge clos'd," &c. There were five of the Brethren—all seniors—present on that presumably hot summer night; but the worthy Master Samuel Porter has added Z. to his signature in the Tyler's Book that day, and they are taking themselves very seriously.

Twice an endeavour was made to establish a "Master's night," but this appears never to have been done.

December 7th, 1792:—"Motion was made by the Worshipful Master to the following purport,—that every fourth Lodge night shall be set apart as a Lodge of Masters, and on that night none but Masters shall be admitted.—The Motion being putt was carried unanimously." No further allusion to this resolution, however, occurs, nor is there any indication that any of the meetings held was a "Lodge of Masters."

April 1st, 1796:—"By a motion being made by our Worthy Brother Clarke it was unanimously agreed that a Lodge of Masters be held every first Lodge after Quarterly night"; but nothing indicates that this was ever carried out.

There is nowhere any direct allusion to the rival Constitution, the only indication being on May 3rd, 1793, when "Wm. Hasswell of Welcombe Lodge was proposed a candidate for Masonry, ballotted for & accepted for which Bro. Betteridge paid 10^s/6^d." He was initiated and passed on May 17th, paid the remainder of his three guineas fee, and on the 22nd raised to the sublime degree.

Possibly the Welcombe was an Ancient Lodge, but I can find no record of it in Lane: nor can the Grand Lodge Librarian trace any Lodge of this name. It has been suggested that this did not refer to a Masonic Lodge at all, but was the name of the house at which Bro. Hasswell lived—and probably that is the true meaning of it.

Special occasions.

The Feasts of St. John in Summer and Winter were always occasions of re-union, and usually there was a good attendance of members and visitors; and it is pleasing to note that many old members of the Lodge would turn up again on these occasions, while sometimes neighbouring Lodges—as at Stratford or Alcester—were invited.

In addition to these festivals there were a few occasions of more than usual interest in the short early active life of this Lodge which merit some special attention.

The first is—the Consecration and Constitution of the Lodge—held nine months after it had been actively engaged in making Masons.

This story can most briefly be told by quoting the successive Minutes:—

"Regular Lodge. March 16. 1792.

Unanimously agreed by the Brethren that the public Constituting of this Lodge be fixed for Tuesday the 5th day of June next, and that our Worthy Brother Samuel Toy P.M. be solicited to take upon him the office of A.G.M. for that day, and that circular letters be transmitted to the neighbouring lodges to request the attendance of the Brethren—that a Sermon be preached on the occasion—the Brethren to walk in Procession to and from Church, and a Collection made for the benefit of the Sunday School in Henley.

Lodge of Emergency. May 9. 1792.

Bro. Whitmore has agreed upon invitation to preach a sermon on the day of Installation. viz. the 5th day of June.

Lodge of Emergency. May 13. 1792 [Sunday].

Bro. Sketchley from Birmingham brought & read the order of Procession to Church, the Ceremony of Constitution & Consecration and Installation, which was unanimously approved, and order'd that the plan be adopted to the Installation on the 5th day of June aforementioned.

Lodge of Emergency. May 23rd 1792.

The Worshipful Master Sam Toy from Birmingham in the Chair.

[There were some passings, nominations and ballotings, and then the entry].—
A Vote of thanks was proposed unanimously to Bro^s. Toy, Sketchley & Bisset for their good intention & the honor they have done us in paying us a visit this night.

Lodge of Emergency. June 4. 1792.

The Worshipful Master Br. Porter in the Chair [Sketchley P.T. having been erased.]”

Routine business is recorded and nothing said about the big ceremony which evidently occurred on that day and not on the 5th as at first arranged.

Evidently Bro. Sketchley presided at that, and Bro. Hawkes, acting as Secretary, had at first entered his name as W.M., but Bro. Porter himself made the correction of his own name when the routine private business of the Lodge was to be recorded.

That this was the occasion of Consecration and Constitution and Installation with the Procession and the Church Service is, I think, evident from the attendance; there were thirteen members and twelve visitors present, J. Sketchley, S. Toy, and James Bisset from Birmingham being among them.

Occasion will be taken to give some further interesting details about Bro. Sketchley when dealing with the various visitors to this Lodge, but it is a curious point to consider by what authority he assumed the position of Consecrating Officer; there was actually at that time no Provincial Grand Master or Officers for the Province of Warwickshire, though such appointments were made by Grand Lodge only a few days later.

Another special occasion was the founding of a new Lodge in the neighbouring town of Alcester, the first indication of which appears in the Minute of November 1st, 1793:—

“Wm. Sarsons made an enter’d apprentice gratis, he being intended as tyler to a Lodge intended to be created at Alcester by our Worthy Brothers resident at Alcester aforesaid.

Nov. 15. 1793. Bro. Wm. Sarsons and Bro. Bishop passed Fellow Crafts. Bro. Wm. Sarsons raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

May 2. 1794. It was unanimously agreed that those Brothers who have not passed their degrees be brought forward as fast as possible on account of the intended procession at Alcester.

July 4. 1794. An invitation being given from the Alcester Lodge to our Worshipful Master, for the attendance of this respectful Lodge at their Installation which is fixed for the 30th of July next inst. It is therefore requested by our Right Worshipful that a Lodge of Emergency be called &c.”

The speeding up of work on this occasion has already been alluded to when dealing with the subject of ceremonies.

That this Alcester Lodge was the Apollo Lodge is made quite evident from an addendum to the Minute of June 5th, 1795, which reads:—

“It was afterwards order’d that if the Feast usually held on St. John’s Day can be postponed to some future day by the Alcester Lodge, this Lodge will visit on any such future day as they may fix, and the Secretary is order’d to write to the Master of the Appollo Lodge informing them the same.”

Apollo Lodge, Alcester.

A short digression on this Apollo Lodge of Alcester may perhaps be permitted. Lane’s Records (2nd edition) gives the Warrant as having been issued on Feb. 26. 1794, with the number 537, subsequently altered to 563: 378 and 301 which number it now bears. Consecrated July 30. 1794. Warrant of Confirmation issued June 1. 1863, but original warrant recently found after being lost for more than thirty years.

Centenary Warrant 23 April 1894.

Meeting at Town Hall, Alcester 1794. The Angel Hotel, 1794. The Swan Hotel 1849, and the Town Hall 1885, where it still holds its meetings “on the Wednesday nearest Full Moon, in the months of February, April, June, October & December.”

An excellent account of the early history of this Lodge has been published by Wor. Bro. Sir D’Arcy Power, P.M. 301, P.G.D. of England, in which he

relates how: "during my year of Office as W.M. . . . I discovered, amongst other things a box full of rubbish which seemed to have lain undisturbed for many years, in a cupboard. It was full of pieces of string, old summonses, brushes & bits of carpet. When all these things had been turned out, I found a parchment which had been folded to make a lining for the bottom of the box, . . . it was the original Warrant which had been lost for more than thirty years, . . . and I had the satisfaction of restoring it to the Lodge at the meeting held on 26 Feb. 1894, exactly one hundred years after it had been granted."

This Warrant was issued—not by Grand Lodge, but by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire, by authority of Thomas Thompson, Prov.G.M., and signed by James Timmins, D.P.G.M., and J. Sketchley, P.G.Sec^y.

It bears the seal of the Grand Lodge of Masons, London, and the number of the Lodge 537, and it is "Given at London under our Hand and Seal of Masonry . . . By the Provincial Grand Master's Command."

The engrossing is in original handwriting with spaces left for the various names to be inserted.

The first meeting of the Apollo Lodge was held at Alcester on February 26th, 1794, the date of the Warrant of Constitution, and the Minutes of the meeting give the following as officers:—

The Worshipful Master Joseph Brandish, in the Chair,
Bro. Brandon Whissoll S.W.
Bro. Abel Morrall J.W.

The Tyler's Book shows that there were also present at this first meeting Wm. Manley as Steward and Wm. Sarsons as Tyler.

Bro. Jno. Clarke and Bro. Jno. Bishop attended as visitors, and of these visitors Bro. Bishop came to nearly every subsequent meeting of the Lodge until October 4th, 1797.

Bro. Joseph Brandish was a Surgeon at Alcester, and he held the office of W.M. of the Lodge from 1794 to 1808—left the town then, but returned and was installed Master again for the year 1814. He had been initiated and passed in the St. John's Lodge on May 17th, 1793, and raised on May 22nd, and served as S.W. on July 5th.

Bro. Brandon Whissoll, the first S.W. was appointed I.P.M. in 1796, but no similar appointment was recorded for many years. He had evidently been Master of some Lodge elsewhere, and, as we have seen, was a joining member of the St. John's Lodge on September 7th, 1792.

Abel Andrew Morrall was initiated in the St. John's Lodge on 5/4/93; passed 3/5/93, and raised 22/5/93: he was Senior Warden in the Apollo Lodge in 1797 and 8, and again in 1802, and W.M. in 1810.

Wm. Manley was Steward till 1795, when he "wished to resign." He had been initiated in the St. John's Lodge 3/5/93, and was one of the six potential Apollo members raised on May 22nd.

Stephen Hobbins, another of the six, became Treasurer of the Apollo Lodge. He died in 1797.

Wm. Sarsons, the Tyler, remained continuously in that office from 1794 until 1809.

The Bros. Clark and Bishop mentioned were also members of St. John's.

It will be realised, then, that some of the lean periods of the St. John's Lodge resulted, not from their having initiated unworthy Masons, but from their generosity in being the cradle—or, perhaps, rather the forcing house—for this and other Lodges.

It is considered probable that some of the furniture still used by the Apollo Lodge belonged originally to the St. John's.

The Lodge continued to be in good harmony with the Apollo, and on August 21st, 1795, the Minutes read:—

"Resolved that this Lodge do attend the Consecration of the Fazeley Lodge on Monday next."

They evidently did so in conjunction with the Alcester Brethren, as the entry at the next meeting, September 4th, 1795, somewhat pompously shows:—

"Tis order'd that the Thanks of the Lodge be given to the Alcester brethren who attended at Fazeley, and that the following letter be sent to the Master thereof.

Rt. Wl. Sir

As upon the Demeanour of Masons, and the orderly Conduct observed by the Brethren at their Meeting in a great degree contributes to the Welfare & Success of our most Ancient and Honble Order, It is with the highest satisfaction I inform you that the Thanks of our Lodge is voted to the Alcester brethren who attended at Fazeley, by which you discover our entire approbation of their conduct while under our Governance. Wishing you & the other Brethren perfect Health & Happiness, and to the holy Cause in which we are engaged the highest possible success. I am,

By order of the Wl. Yours &c."

Fazeley is on the N.W. border of Warwickshire, close by Tamworth in Staffordshire, and we find the entry, dated August 24th, in the Treasurer's Book:—

"Expenses to Tamworth of the Tyler. £1.3.4."

There is no indication as to how large a party made the journey.

This Lodge at Fazeley is given in Lane's Lists as the St. Bartholemew's Lodge—the Warrant dated 6. Aug. 1795, meeting at the White Lion, Coleshill St., Fazeley. Staffordshire. It was removed to the Three Tuns, High St., Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, in 1803, and erased 5 March 1828.

Again, on December 2nd, 1796, we have allusion to the Alcester Brethren:—

"By the Master's order the Brethren at Alcester are to be requested to attend at the Feast of St. John and was unanimously agreed that members not attending to pay 5/- each."

But not many came. There were three visitors present—Bro. Jno. Whitmore, our old friend the late Chaplain, from Stratford—a John Waring who had often visited the Lodge during the past few months, and a Wm. Taylor who was probably an Alcester member—he had attended the St. John's night in December, 1794, when many from the Apollo Lodge were visiting.

Nor do any absentee members appear to have paid up that 5/-. There were eleven members present, and the Treasurer's account reads:—

" 1796 Dec. 27.	By quarterages.	£4.	1.	0
	By Bro. Waring, visitor		5.	0
	By cash of 10 members			
	preasant at 5/- each			
		2.	10.	0 "

The Dinner and Supper bill for that night came to £9.19.0.

Shakespeare Lodge. Stratford upon Avon.

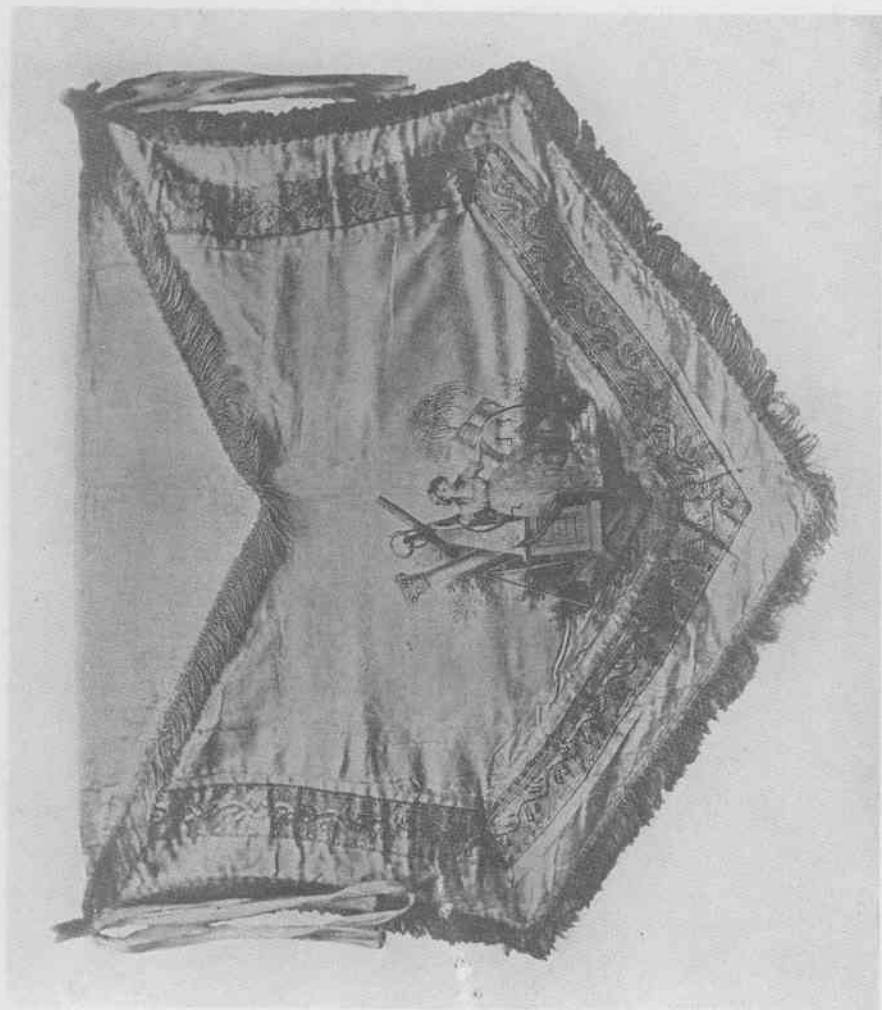
Previous to the Consecration of the Apollo Lodge the St. John had performed services preparatory to the formation of the new Lodge at Stratford-on-Avon, to which allusion has already been made.

On December 20th, 1792, the Minutes read:—

"Edwd. Busby was nominated a Candidate for Masonry balloted for and accepted, and made an enter'd Apprentice and was unanimously agreed that he should be made gratis, on account of the establishing of a Lodge at Stratford on Avon, & he being proposed and approved as Tyler thereto."

There are many points of interest in these Minutes of December 20th, 1792. They were the last written by Anthony Gibbs, and will be referred to again.

There has been an erasure with reference to this initiation of Edwd. Busby. Originally it read: "it was unanimously agreed that he should be made only paying five shillings for registering his name in the Grand Lodge books"—the latter part after "made" being erased and the word "gratis" substituted.



Apron of Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford-upon-Avon
(1793-1799)

Now in possession of Shakespeare Lodge, No. 284, Warwick.

Visitors.
Mr. Wm. J. Fox. T. Michael Lodge No. 16.
Bro. Leas. P. 11/12/18

Visitors at St. John's Lodge, 1st June, 1792.

St John's Lodge No 492
 Lodge of Emergency Feb 2: 1793
 J Porter Secy
 Wm Smith
 J Clarke
 Wm Brough
 Wm Hall
 Jno Hendrick
 Wm Kanner

Regular Lodge Jan 16 1795
 Wm Smith Master
 Wm Smith
 J Clarke
 J Clarke
 J Clarke
 John Chambers
 Jno Thompson

St. John's Lodge No 583
 Regular Lodging 7th 1792
 Wm. P. L. G.

John Barker M

Frederick M. B. B.

The M. B. B.

W. M. B. B. L. W. B.

Sam'l Day 6th 1792

J. G. L. G. B.

J. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

St. John's Lodge No 492

The Feast of St. John Decr 27 1794

Members

W. M. B. B.

Sam'l Day 6th 1792

J. G. L. G. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

J. M. B. B.

Visitors

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

W. M. B. B.

This is the only clear allusion anywhere to be found in the set of books to payments to Grand Lodge. The Treasurer's accounts do not give any indication of such periodical payments; there is only one entry, dated November 15th, 1792:—

Cash sent to London £10. 10. 0.

Wor. Bro. Wonnacott gives the following information of the dues recorded in Grand Lodge as having been received from this Lodge.

The first payment was for the Constitution—in 1792—as No. 492, viz., £2.2.0 to Charity & £2.2.0 to Hall Fund, with an additional £4.15.0 at the same time to Hall Fund.

Next and last payment 4.2.1801 2 guineas to the Liquidation Fund.

This last information is of the greatest importance, as we shall see, as confirmatory evidence of the continuity of the Lodge after 1797.

It is noticeable, too, that Wm. Bolton was initiated in November, 1792 (the date of the recorded cash payment to London), and that his is the *last name* entered in the Grand Lodge Register for the St. John Lodge; previous names had all been duly recorded excepting those of the two joining members John Whitmore and Brandon Whissoll, of whom there is no record.

After the name of Wm. Bolton there is a hiatus, and no further entry until 1811.

Some idea of the lavishness with which this new Lodge, The Shakespeare Lodge No. 516, was launched resplendently upon the admiring world may be gathered from the notice given in the newly-established *Freemasons' Magazine* of the Dedication and subsequent festivities:—

“Never since the Celebration of the Jubilee has there been such a numerous and elegant assemblage of people, the Ladies in particular seeming to vie with each other, who should best express their respect on the occasion. On the next night a Free Ball was given which for Beauty and Brilliance far surpassed anything of the kind ever remembered at Stratford. Every Brother appeared in his Apron and the Grand Provincial Officers, and the Masters and Officers of the different Lodges wore their Sashes and Jewels. One Brother wore a suit of Buttons with Masonic Emblems, &c., elegantly set, which cost upwards of Ten Guineas, and many wore Aprons worth from Five to Ten Pounds each.”

On this occasion a song composed by James Bisset, Steward of St. Alban's Lodge, Birmingham, was sung. This song is given in full in Bro. Rainey's paper in *A.Q.C.*, vol. x. The first verse runs:—

The corner stone this day we have
By solemn dedication
Of Stratford Lodge most firmly laid
On our most grand foundation.
Great Shakspeare's name the Pile shall boast,
A name so much renowned Sir,
With flowing bumper let this toast
Then cheerfully go round Sir.

Chorus

May this new Lodge for ever stand,
To grace Masonic story,
The wonder of this happy land,
And raise old Shakspeare's glory.

Whether dazzled by their own display of importance and stability, or over confident in the inherent powers of Masonic Lodges, the experienced first Master did not take the essential steps to secure the fulfilment of the pious aspiration “May this new Lodge for ever stand”—nor did his successors, whoever they may have been, do any better, for, wholly contrary to the solemn injunction laid upon him in the Warrant, no return was ever made to Grand Lodge, no Charity dues were ever paid, and the only record of this Lodge to be found in the Grand Lodge Library is that in the Warrant Book.

The Warrant is in original handwriting, engrossed on parchment or thick mill board (it was not easy to be sure which by inspection through the glass), and all the names in the body of the document are in the same handwriting, except the name "Brother Timmins," where, before the words "Our Deputy Provincial Grand Master," a blank space had been left, and the name subsequently filled in.

The signature of Thomas Thompson, P.G.M., appears at the top of the Warrant. James Timmins, D.P.G.M., at the foot, and J. Sketchley, P.G.S., at the bottom left-hand side, and the titles P.G.M.: D.P.G.M.: and P.G.S. appear to have been on the original form in block capitals, indicating where those officers should sign.

The date, 1st: Feb^r.: 5793: 1793: are also filled in where blanks had been left.

The Warrant bears the seal of "The Grand Lodge of Masons London," and the number of the Lodge, and its final recital states that it is "Given at London under our hand and Seal of Masonry . . . By the Provincial Grand Master's Commons."

In all these particulars this Warrant agrees with that issued to the Alcester Brethren for the Apollo Lodge in 1794, except that "Commons" appears correctly as "Command."

These Warrants issued by the Province do not appear to be temporary documents, as is stated to be the case respecting Provincial Warrants, which we are told to regard as "Dispensations" to be exchanged for a Grand Lodge Warrant "from which they got their Number on the Roll." These bear the G.L. Seal and the number of the Lodge, and, though issued by the Province, appear to be authoritative and permanent.

Many Warrants issued by other Provinces at about this period bear the same characteristics.

From this Warrant, then, we learn the names of the Petitioners and Office bearers:—

"Know ye. That we at the humble Petition of our right Trusty and well beloved Brethren Samuel Porter, Charles Pestall, John Whitmore, Jonathan Izod, John Zouch, William Bolton and several other Brethren residing in or near Stratford upon Avon in the County of Warwick, Do hereby Constitute the said Brethren into a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons (under the title or Denomination of the Shakespeare Lodge) to be opened at the House known by the sign of the White Lion in Stratford upon Avon aforesaid.

And do further at their said Petition and of the great trust and confidence in every of the above named Brethren hereby appoint the said Samuel Porter to be Master, Charles Pestall Senior Warden and John Whitmore Junior Warden for opening the said Lodge and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the Brethren thereof . . ."

The form of words is in every respect that used in a Grand Lodge Warrant, *e.g.*, that already quoted as having been issued to the St. John's Lodge in 1791.

All these Brethren were members of St. John's, and most of them have already been mentioned in the various Minutes quoted. From the Warrant Book in the Grand Lodge Library we learn that Jonathan Izod was Treasurer, John Zouch Secretary, and William Bolton Steward of the Lodge.

It is curious that the name Shakespeare has been the factor common to the various Lodges to which the properties of this Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford have drifted.

In *A.Q.C.*, vol. x., p. 41, Bro. J. J., Rainey, P.M. 426, published an Account of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 426, which was founded at Spilsby in Lincolnshire in 1835.

He shows that the old furniture of the Lodge (which is still in use) was purchased in the year 1834 from the Shakespeare Lodge No. 531 meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern, Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham. This Lodge will be shown to be identical with our St. John's Lodge No. 492, which took the name Shakespeare in 1811.

Bro. Rainey's description of the furniture now in the possession of the Spilsby-Shakespeare Lodge, will give some indication of the expenditure these Stratford Brethren were prepared to make in 1793:—

"The furniture, which is very unique and interesting, consisted then of a Master's pedestal of mahogany with a picture on copper let into the front panel representing Shakespeare leaning against a column and pointing to the working tools lying on the floor. At the foot of the pedestal are two steps, and on the upper one at either end are square holes cut to allow of the pillars being let in—the pillars are of the same material as the pedestal, three sides of their base are ornamental with working tools, the letters J and B appearing on their front. The pillars have Corinthian capitals of brass, and resting on them are square blocks of wood, on all sides of which are small tracing boards worked in silver wire and covered with dome shaped glasses about 2 inches in diameter. A row of fine brass wire with little pendant pomegranates is suspended from the top. On the top of each capital has been placed a globe marking the terrestrial & celestial spheres.

The original furniture also included Master's and Wardens' chairs, a Bible, three large candlesticks, a skeleton in box, a Senior and Junior Warden's column, one sword and a banner, an ivory square, and two large wooden figures. The Master's chair has the Prince of Wales' feathers carved at the back and flanked by the sun, and would point out that the original Lodge was chartered during the Grand Mastership of the Prince of Wales in 1793. The Bible has printed upon it Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford-on-Avon. No. 416—a misprint no doubt for 516. The sword used by the Inner Guard is of blued steel and bears the figure of Shakespeare, his crest and Coat of arms, together with about twenty Masonic emblems in gilt, and the number 492 and no doubt was purchased by the Shakespeare Lodge 492 when meeting at St. George's Tavern or at Shakespeare Tavern, Birmingham. The ivory square has 531 stamped on it, and would probably have been added to the original furniture about 1814, when the Lodge was meeting at St. Georges, High St., Birmingham. The box is about 6 feet long and 4 feet wide, and divided by a partition in the middle with a lid to each side: one side is empty, and one end is made to fall down, the other contains a full length skeleton . . . Its use will be at once understood.

The two wooden figures represent soldiers of the 18th century and are 5 ft. in height, but what relation they bear to the Craft has not been satisfactorily explained."

It should be remembered that the Spilsby-Shakespeare Lodge was purchasing the furniture of the Shakespeare Lodge (St. John's) 492, which included some of the furniture of the Shakespeare Lodge 516 of Stratford amongst its own: the elaborate Master's Pedestal, with its representation of Shakespeare, and the Bible are certainly from 516; but the Master's and Wardens' chairs and the skeleton in the box may have been the original furniture of the St. John's Lodge, and there does not appear to be any reason for considering that the very fine Inner Guard's sword ever belonged to any earlier Lodge than 492 when named the Shakespeare Lodge in Birmingham, that is, later than 1811.

(For Illustrations see *A.Q.C.*, vol. x., p. 44-45.)

Strangely enough, the Warrant did not go with the furniture to Spilsby, nor was it returned to Grand Lodge on the erasure in 1837 with the original St. John's Warrant, but somehow or other drifted to the Shakspeare Lodge (now No. 284) at Warwick, where it still remains a very much treasured possession.

This Shakspeare Lodge of Warwick was a Military Lodge, and Bro. R. F. Gould, in his *Military Lodges*, p. 152, refers to it as "the most singular of the series." Briefly he relates its early history:—

"Examples of Lodges having been 'left behind them' by the military on a change of station are not uncommon, but those of Stationary being converted into Ambulatory Lodges by the simple process of regiments marching away with them, if not entirely unknown, are, nevertheless, of comparatively rare occurrence. Such an event happened in 1796, when the members of a Lodge at Norwich sold their furniture to some brethren in the Warwickshire Militia, making them at the same time a present of the 'Constitution.'¹ On the removal of the regiment in the following year, the 'Shakespeare Lodge' to use the title adopted in 1797, accompanied it and was brought to Warwick in 1802. The next year the battalion was again ordered on service, but the Lodge remained at Warwick.

The regiment returned in 1805, and three years later was quartered at Sunderland, when a resolution was carried in the Lodge at Warwick that it should be made

¹ It is of interest to note that the original Warrant of the Norwich Lodge still in the possession of the Warwick Lodge 284 was issued by the Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk, Sir Edward Astley, and signed by the D.P.G.M. and Grand Wardens and witnessed by the P.G.S. It is engrossed in the handwriting of the P.G.S., Jas. Bullivant, jun., and bears the Seal of Grand Lodge.

stationary at that town. A protest was lodged by the members at Sunderland, and a counter-protest by those at Warwick. The latter had thirty one signatures the former only ten, so when the matter came before a Committee of the Grand Lodge they decided in favour of the majority, and the removal of the 'Shakespeare Lodge' from the Warwickshire Militia to the guardianship of non-military brethren at Warwick was recognised and approved."

The Shakespeare Lodge No. 516, of Stratford, lapsed in 1799; its effects were purchased by, or, at any rate, passed into the possession of representatives of the latent St. John's Lodge—the furniture they wanted and took later to Birmingham, eventually to sell it to the Spilsby-Shakespeare Lodge; but they had no real use for the Warrant—their own was still running—and was secured from erasure by payment of a contribution of £2 2s. to the Liquidation Fund in 1801. Is it not possible that these Brethren with a useful Warrant in their hands, bearing the same name, Shakespeare, gave it to the Warwick Brethren, in view of the controversy with Sunderland, so that they might be secure in the possession of a Warrant (which at that time could easily have been regularised) in the event of the decision as to removal of their Lodge to Sunderland being given against them by Grand Lodge?

In such case the Warrant would not, of course, have been stranded in Birmingham when the furniture was sold, but would have passed direct to Warwick at a much earlier date.¹

The Shakespeare Lodge No. 284, of Warwick, also possesses a pale blue apron of unusual shape, richly decorated with silver braid and fringing, engraved with an emblematic group and bearing the number 516 (see illustration).

Before we pass from the consideration of the Masonic work of the Lodge some brief notice may be taken of indications of Other Degrees which appear from time to time in the Tyler's Book. Probably these degrees were worked in common with other Lodges in the district. There is never any allusion to them in the Minute Book.

On September 7th, 1792, Wm. James, junr., S.W., puts the combined T.H. in the form of a triple Tau, and J. Telford a letter T inside an inverted triangle, while Wm. Narmecutt, the Tyler, puts a letter T inside an upright triangle. This indication of the appointment of the Tyler as a serving brother appears to show that the degrees were worked locally and that the Brethren indicating their membership of them had not to travel to Birmingham for their ceremonies.²

On February 2nd, 1793, Samuel Porter adds Z. and William James T.H., as the latter does again on May 3rd and July 29th and October 24th, 1794.

On July 5th, 1793, Brandon Whissoll gives the T.H. device after his name.

On August 2nd, 1793, Samuel Porter again puts Z., as also on July 4th, 1794.

On March 21st, 1794, Wm. James, junr., and Joseph Brandish use the T.H. device.

On December 27th, 1794, two visitors from the Apollo, the Master, Jos. Brandish, and I.P.M. Brandon Whissoll, put the T.H. device, and at the next meeting, January 16th, 1795, Wm. James, junr., adds Master, Z., which is the last of such entries in the book.

The only other indication is an early entry by a visitor on June 1st, 1792, when Robt. Frear signs himself as Ensign, and adds what may possibly be the letters K.T.

¹ There is an entry in the Minute Book dated 17 Oct. 1871:—"Bro. Jones P.M. No. 587 (Howe Lodge, Birmingham) presented to the W.M. a Warrant believed to be the original Warrant of the Shakespeare Lodge for which a vote of thanks of the Lodge was unanimously accorded him." This disposes of the suggestion of its earlier acquisition by the Lodge at Warwick.

² The List of Chapters in the Roll of the "Supreme Grand and Royal Chapter" 1813-17 gives No. 33 Fortitude, Birmingham, as the only Warwickshire Chapter (const. 1783) until No. 162 Temperance was constituted at Alcester in 1811: though there are some missing numbers in the roll during the years 1792-1795. It is noticeable that the "Royal Arch Chapter of Fortitude" is the only one included in the procession at the Consecration of the Apollo Lodge at Alcester, July, 1794.

Visitors.

Notes on some of the Visitors who frequently attended meetings of the Lodge may be appropriately made. Occasionally in its earlier months it was only by the assistance of visitors that the work of the Lodge could be done.

Sometimes the name and number of the Lodge is given in the Tyler's Book with the visitor's name, and some of these are of interest to detail.

On 1/6/92:—Asa Worthington—St. Michaels Lodge. Cont. America. No. 16.

It is not quite certain that the St. Michael's Lodge No. 16 he cites was an American Lodge, or whether he means at Cont. (presumably Connecticut, though possibly "Continent"), America; but in any case no such Lodge either in England or America can be traced in Lane's Lists, nor can the Librarian of Grand Lodge give any clue to the Lodge alluded to.

No. 16 under Prov.G.L. Pennsylvania was an unnamed Lodge meeting at Baltimore, which became No. 20 on the register of G.L. of Maryland in 1795, and erased in 1796.

An interesting visitor on June 4th, 1792—the Consecration of the Lodge—is one named Joseph Boruwlaskie; a celebrated Polish dwarf who visited many Lodges.

No other visitor gives his Lodge number until 7/11/94, when Wm. Manley, an old initiate of St. John's, gave his present allegiance to the Apollo Lodge No. 532—it should have been 537. On that night also Launcelot Knowles gives his No. 147, which in the 1792 numbering is the British Union Lodge meeting at Ipswich, and in the 1781 numbering the St. Mary's Lodge, Port Maria, Jamaica—quite possibly a sailor, if such he were, might quote his old number—or, indeed, a wrong number entirely.

On 1/5/95 a visitor signs as Joseph Smith, No. 40. Charles Town, South Carolina.

Lane gives No. 40 as St. Andrew's Lodge, Charlestown, warranted 12/7/1783 under Prov.G.L. Pennsylvania.

A Minute dated Jan. 12, 1795, of the Old Lodge, Divizes, cited in Goldney's *History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire* (1880), page 155, reads:—"Relief was ordered to be given to Brother James Smith, of Lodge of Friendship, South Carolina." Jas. and Jos. are easily confused and this may be the same man who was visiting Henley-in-Arden in the following May. The Treasurer's Book shows entry on May 4, 1795: "Relieved Br. Smith by tickets=11s. 0." Probably he was "doing the rounds," and it is interesting to note that the Old Lodge at Devizes was then working under the Ancients. Lane does not cite any Lodge of Friendship as working under the G.L. of Eng. at that time in S. Carolina, which had had its own Grand Lodge since 1787.

On 3/7/95 and 7/10/96 we have a visitor signing Boote or Booth, Shakespeare Lodge 516.

On 6/5/96, Wm. Spender. 514.

This was the Union Lodge of Birmingham then meeting at the Rose, Edgbaston St. Its Warrant is given by Lane simply as 1795, but it was evidently a survival of the Union Soho Lodge of Handsworth then in the Province of Staffordshire, which had been warranted in 1793, and lapsed about 1794. The Union Lodge continued meeting at various places in Birmingham till it lapsed in 1832, its last payment to Grand Lodge having apparently been in 1813.

On 7/10/96, John Rooukin, Princes Lodge, Cav^a. Square, but no trace of such a Lodge can be found in Lane's Records.

The Brethren who came from Birmingham with reference to the Consecration ceremony in 1792 have already been named: Samuel Toy, James Bisset, and James Sketchley.

Samuel Toy we have seen to have been a member of the St. Alban's Lodge No. 176, the Warrant of which was dated 23/2/62, and continued working in

Birmingham until 1829. He was a Steel Manufacturer, at this time about forty-five years of age. He is cited in the Minute of March 16th, 1792, as P.M., and was evidently much respected by the Brethren of St. John's; possibly he was the Master when those founding members were initiated and they desired that he should be the consecrating officer; but he was superseded for some reason by Sketchley. That is a noteworthy phrase used in the Minute of March 16th, 1792: "That our Worthy Brother Samuel Toy be solicited to take upon himself the office of A.G.M."

Bro. James Bisset gives his Lodge as the St. Albans 176. He was a Miniature painter, thirty years of age. We have seen that he was initiated in that Lodge but three months previously. He seems to have been an acquisition to the social and convivial side of a Mason's duties. We have seen that a year later he took part in the Stratford Consecration and festivities, and it is notable that Preston should have included in his Collection of Masonic Songs for the ninth edition of his Illustrations one (No. XXIX.) written by him, whom he styles "Steward of St. Alban's Lodge, and G.S. for the County of Warwick."

The G.S. here stands for Grand Steward. Sketchley was G.Sec. at that time, and there is no trace of Bisset ever having filled that office.

Bisset's convivial turn was apparent in the Song he wrote for the Stratford Dedication—but it is still more marked here. One verse will suffice:—

A Mason's life's the life for me,
 With joy we meet each other,
 We pass our time with mirth and glee,
 And hail each friendly brother:
 In lodge no party feuds are seen,
 But careful we in this agree,
 To banish care or spleen.
 The Master's call, we one and all
 With pleasure soon obey;
 With heart and hand we ready stand
 Our duty still to pay.
 But when the glass goes round,
 Then mirth and glee abound,
 We're all happy to a man;
 We laugh a little, we drink a little,
 We work a little, we play a little.

Chorus. We laugh a little, we drink a little
 We sing a little, are merry a little
 And swig the flowing can,
 And swig the flowing can.

Dr. Geo. Oliver, in his *Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry* (1846), Vol. I., note to page 478, quotes another song of Bro. Bissett's, which shows him in a more serious vein:—

The Almighty said "Let there be light"
 Effulgent rays appearing,
 Dispell'd the gloom, the glory bright
 To this new world was cheering.
 But unto Masonry alone
 Another light, so clear and bright,
 In mystic rays then shone,
 From east to west it spread so fast,
 That Faith and Hope unfurl'd,
 We hail with joy sweet Charity,
 The darling of the world.

Jas. Sketchley, P.G.S.War.

Of James Sketchley, who became Prov. Grand Secretary for Warwickshire a much fuller account must be given, and I propose to make a lengthy digression on account of the very interesting matters that arise.

No record has been obtainable of his parentage and early life.

I was able to obtain but little information about him from the Masonic Library in Birmingham, but at the Public Free Library I was fortunately referred to Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham—Authors, Printers & Booksellers*, published by Cornish Bros. in 1907.

Here on pp. 44 and 45 is related how Thomas Warren took in St. Martin's Parish the house of Harry Porter, the friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who married his daughter Lucy on July 9th, 1733. Here Warren carried on a publisher's business till 1738, when he became bankrupt, and moved to No. 1, Corn Cheeping, Moor St., printing there Samuel Bourn's Prayer Book in 1746. He was still there in 1754, but shortly afterwards he and his son occupied "the Auction Rooms at the bottom of Crooked Lane—previously Sketchley's."

On p. 64 Hills introduces an account of Sketchley's career in relation to publishing and bookselling with the following apt reflection:—

"Men with literary predilections (circa 1760) who followed other vocations were allowed to embark in the trade (of publishing) & a small stock of type sufficed to produce a weekly or bi-weekly pamphlet to instruct & amuse the ladies & gentlemen to whom they appealed, and gave moreover notoriety, or at least prominence to men of restricted culture but of much enterprise.

"Of such men the old Birmingham worthy James Sketchley may be cited as a most excellent example, and although but little is known of his earlier days he was without doubt an auctioneer, a business in those days strangely allied with bookselling."

In 1763 he compiled the first Birmingham Directory of which he subsequently issued second, third, and fourth editions, the last being the only one that has been preserved.

From being a printer of his own sale bills he became a publisher, magazine editor, and journalist.

In 1763 Luckman & Sketchley published "The Coventry & Birmingham Magazine"—a dual series—half newspaper half magazine, printed weekly, but alternately in Birmingham and Coventry. Agents were appointed all over the neighbouring countryside in the counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Derby, Leicester, Notts., and Salop.

Amongst other matter this magazine gave brief items of news: On February 25th, 1765, it announces "the arrival in London of one Wolfgang Mozart—a boy of eight—a musical prodigy."

From 1764 Sketchley was for five years connected with "The Newspaper" which ultimately became Swinney's Chronicle, and about 1780 he was at No. 139, Moor St., where he published a book—now very rare—*The Freemason's Repository* "Printed by and for Jas. Sketchley, Auctioneer, No. 139 Moor St."

In Oliver's facile and fanciful *Revelations of a Square* (1845), p. 346, the passage occurs: "The Chairman then commended Bro. Sketchley of Birmingham, for having done good service to Masonry by the publication of a useful little manual, which contains some valuable little papers, particularly a curious lecture on Moral Geometry, which contains a beautiful view of the ancient principles of the art."

This paper on Moral Geometry is reproduced by Oliver in his *Golden Remains*, vol. 1, p. 157 (1847). He asserts there that he has been unable to trace its authorship, but suggests that it was written by Bro. Duncckerley.

Oliver states in a footnote the description of the book to be "The Freemason's Repository, containing a Selection of valuable Discourses, Charges, Aphorisms and Letters," Birmingham, Sketchley 1786.

Wor. Bro. Vibert states (*Misc. Lat. x.*, 4) that it was published undated, and there must have been an earlier edition than 1786 if published as stated at Moor St., for in 1781 Sketchley was in business at No. 6, Snow Hill, which he

advertised as "The Great A." Here he continued in partnership with Orion Adams and others, publishing weekly and bi-weekly magazines.

In 1790 an edition of the *Unparalleled Sufferings of John Coustos*, originally published in London and Dublin, was brought out in Birmingham, "Printed by M. Swinney for J. Sketchley. Publisher and Auctioneer."

It is of interest to notice in Wor. Bro. Powell's *Freemasonry in Bristol* that in discussing the life of Bro. Springer he refers to Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1787 "Published by James Sketchley, Broker & Auctioneer, No. 27 in Small St."

Latimer, in his *Annals of Bristol* (Eighteenth Century), p. 420, refers to the Directory:—

"The first Bristol Directory was published about the end of the year (1775) by James Sketchley, printer & auctioneer, 27 Small St: who, it is said, not merely collected the names of all the upper class and commercial residents, but also numbered their dwellings throughout the city, and placed the figures on their doors for the consideration of one shilling per house. The Commercial directory extends over 110 pages, and contains the names of about 4,000 citizens.

"In some notes descriptive of Bristol, the author states that a survey of the city, Clifton & Bedminster had shown the total number of houses to be 6,570 (exclusive of 348 unoccupied) with a population of 35,440. Similar surveys he adds, had credited Birmingham with a population of 30,804, and Liverpool with 34,407. It is certain, however, that the population of Bristol was greatly underrated in this return. The next Bristol Directory—printed at Birmingham—was published in 1783, and was followed by local works dated 1785, 1787 and 1792."

This allusion to a Liverpool survey, and the knowledge of the wide net that Sketchley was spreading in his various activities, made me enquire of the City Librarian of Liverpool whether he did similar work there: Mr. G. T. Shaw kindly replied:—

"There is no record that I can find of any work by James Sketchley in Liverpool. The first Directory was published in 1766 by J. Gore and it is probable that that Directory gave Sketchley the idea to do similar work for Birmingham and Bristol."

It is evident, however, that priority must be given to Sketchley, whose first Birmingham Directory appeared three years before Gore's at Liverpool.

Still more interesting is Sketchley's issue in 1794 of a Masonic token coin, in commemoration of the election of George, Prince of Wales, as Grand Master of the Moderns in 1790. In common with many other kinds of token coinage in the provinces at this period, this was in wide circulation as a halfpenny.

These coins usually had on the obverse the imprint of the Arms of Grand Lodge, with the motto "Amor Honor et Justitia," and the words "Prince of Wales elected G.M. 24 No. 1790," and on the reverse a Masonic design within a triangle with the words Wisdom, Strength, & Beauty along the sides, and round the margin SIT LUX ET LUX FUIT; whilst on the rim is engraved one of many variations of imprint relating to I. SKETCHLEY, with many variations in spelling his name.

The best account yet collected of these Token coins appears in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, Vol II., p. 118, where Bro. C. Gough publishes information obtained from Mr. Wm. Gilbert, Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, and later amplified in Vol. X., No. 4 (November, 1925), by Wor. Bro. Lionel Vibert:—

"The Masonic token having its edge impressed 'half penny payable at the Black Horse, Tower Hill' does not necessarily establish that this house was connected with Freemasonry.

It does establish the fact that the Black Horse being short of small change gave an order to J. Sketchley . . . for a number of his tokens. These he manufactured (or rather had manufactured for himself) by the thousand, and then impressed the edges, which were plain, in various ways to suit his customers; and so his token circulated in various parts of the country. As evidence of the widespread circulation of the Masonic

halfpennies of Sketchley we find at least four minor varieties of design, showing that at least four separate dies were engraved, probably because they successively wore out.

I do not find evidence on the tokens, I possess, or have examined of a fractured die. These four slightly differing obverses or reverses are known with the following edges:—

1. Halfpenny payable at the Black Horse, Tower Hill.
2. Halfpenny payable at Dublin, Cork or Derry.
3. Payable at London.
4. Payable at London or Dublin.
5. Payable in Lancaster, London, or Bristol.
6. Payable at Richard Long's Library.
7. Payable at W. Parker's old Birmingham Warehouse.
8. Masonic halfpenny token MDCCXCIV.
9. Masonic token I. SCETCHLEY. fecit 1794.
10. Masonic token Brother Scetchley Birmingham.
11. Masonic token Bro. Scetchley Birmingham fecit.
12. Masonic token J. Sketchley R.A. & P.G.S. Birmingham fecit, and also with a perfectly plain edge.

The token itself is a common one but some of the above edge readings are very scarce.

That the Black Horse Tower Hill did not confine itself to Masonic tokens for its small change is evident from our finding the edges of the following tokens also impressed:—

'Halfpenny payable at the Black Horse. Tower Hill.'

1. J. Lackington & Co.'s halfpenny. London 1794
'The cheapest booksellers in the world.'
2. Cronebane (Ireland) halfpenny. 1789.
3. Lancaster (John of Gaunt) halfpenny. 1794.

It may be of interest to Freemasons to note, while on this subject, that the edge reading Masonic token I. SKETCHLEY. fecit. 1794. is found on:—

1. The Hithe (Kent) halfpenny. 1794.
2. The Bath halfpenny.
3. A Birmingham halfpenny of 1794 (Bust of Wilkinson).

The Edge 'Masonic halfpenny token MDCCXCIV.' is also found on:—

1. Bury (Suffolk) halfpenny (Rackham's Library).
2. Lancaster (John of Gaunt) halfpenny 1794.
3. John Howard's not local halfpenny 'Remember the debtors in gaol.'

The edge reading 'Masonic token I. SCETCHLEY fecit' without date, which is not found on Masonic tokens, is found on:—

1. The Glasgow halfpenny.
2. The Deal (Kent) halfpenny 1794.

Wor. Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett reports in *Miscellanea Latamorum*, ix., p. 38, that he has in his possession a Sketchley token with the edge reading:—

Masonic token I SCKTCHLHY FK CIT 1794 * **

It is abundantly evident, then, that Sketchley was a man of much activity and enterprise, spreading his net widely.

Masonically such indications of his career as I have been able to discover are similarly enterprising.

I have not been able to find the place or date of his initiation.

The earliest information as to his Masonic career is given by Wor. Bro. Vibert in *Misc. Lat.*, vol x., No. 4. He states that "Sketchley was named as S.W. in the Warrant of the Antient Lodge No. 124 meeting at the King's Head, New Street, Birmingham, the date of which is 11th April, 1764, and in June of that year he became its Master.

The Lodge lapsed in the following year, and what appears to have happened is that the members transferred themselves to the Modern Lodge founded at the Swan in Great Brook St. in 1733, which had also in 1764 begun to meet at the King's Head, *where it remained for twenty years*" (so its Warrant could not have been transferred to the St. Paul's).

In 1764 he was a founding member of the Lodge meeting in Birmingham then numbered 64, which was afterwards named the St. Paul's Lodge, and still exists as No. 43. It is probable that the early Minutes given as those of the St. Paul's Lodge No. 43 in Wor. Bro. Joseph's History of this Lodge are in reality those of the Antient Lodge No. 124.

This Lodge had taken over the Warrant and properties of another Lodge, given in Lane and cited in the Centenary Warrant as No. 125 meeting at the Swan, Great Brook St., under Warrant dated 1st August, 1733; but the Centenary Warrant was only granted in 1864, and the identity of the Lodge from which the Warrant was obtained does not appear certain.

The Minutes of the Lodge begin April 27th, 1764, and cite at once certain payments by a syndicate of Brethren, who are creditors in equal shares for payments as mentioned.

These include:—

Regalia & carriage from London	£7. 15. 0
The Modern Grand Sec ^y . for the Transfer	£1. 3. 6
The Ancient Grand Sec ^y . for the Warrant	£1 11. 6
and sundry other items amounting to	£20. 8. 4

If it were the Swan, Great Brook St., from which the Lodge derived its property, why the carriage of regalia from London? And the Swan was a Modern Lodge, while it is definitely stated that the Warrant was obtained from the Grand Secretary of the Ancients. Possibly the Warrant referred to is that of the Antient Lodge No. 124.

The names of the Brethren composing this syndicate were Bros. Ruston, Sketchley, Freeth, Hensler, Sadler, Sparrow, Brentall and Rock.

Now curiously enough Wor. Bro. Booth has one other old Minute Book in his possession, and this is of a Modern Lodge (more a benefit society with a Masonic appendage), the second Minute of which, in 1752, reads: "The Lodge that was held at the Tower in Tower Street separated Oct. 4th 1752. Minuted that all members of this present Lodge which came from the aforesaid shall be free of this our Lodge at the Baptist Head at the Old Bailey on that day Twelve month on which they enter'd."

Lane's Records give a Lodge meeting at The Tower, Tower St., in 1753 under Warrant 28th January, 1722, which continued to meet at various houses in Seven Dials, Soho, and Westminster, and was named the Tyrian Lodge in 1768, and the Westminster and Keystone Lodge in 1792, and is still No. 10 on the Register of Grand Lodge. In 1752 it was No. 6 of the Moderns. And another Lodge meeting at the Baptist Head, Old Bailey, in 1753, under Warrant 1728, which also met at various houses in London, and was named the Richmond Lodge in 1734 and the Lodge of Attention in 1781, and was erased in 1797. In 1752 it was No. 49 of the Moderns.

It appears, then, that a certain number of Brethren transferred from one Lodge to the other.

The Lodge meeting at the Baptist Head continued its career as a Benefit Society, but it gradually drifted into financial difficulties.

On January 4th, 1758: "The Lodge being open'd in due form it was unanimously agreed then, that the Box should be Closed from this 4th day of January 1758 until the 4th day of January 1759, that no benefits shall be paid to either Sick or Dead on account of Deffecioncies in the Box." They had a £50 Bank Annuity held in trust by Bro. Serjant "for the Society," but the Cash in hand was only £1.5.11½d.

Now on the last page of this Minute Book, under date of June, 1764, there appears the entry:—"By Monies receiv'd of Bros. Sketchley, Freeth, Hensler, Ruston, Rock & Sparrow towards defraying the expenses to the Lodge 12/- ea £3.12.0." Six of the eight names comprising that Syndicate in Birmingham who were interested in equipping their new Lodge.

In the St. Paul's Lodge Minutes we find that Bro. Sketchley sold his share to Bro. Harvey: evidently being in need of ready money.

There is no doubt that during the early years of this new Birmingham Lodge there was very close association with the Ancients. It is cited on the Register of the Moderns throughout, but we have seen that it obtained from somewhere a Warrant of the Ancients, and that a fee was paid to the Modern Grand Sec^y. for the transfer.

At the first meeting of the Lodge, 27th April, 1764, Bro. Sketchley was S.W., and we note that the W.M. and S.W. were installed by the Grand Secretary Br. Dermot by order of the Grand Master.

On June 1st, 1764, Bro. Rock—a Modern Mason and a visitor—acted as J.W.

On June 25th, 1764: The Lodge proceeded to Raise Bro. Rock Ancient Master Mason. Br. Sketchley was elected W.M. and chose Br. Rock for Secretary.

On that date: "The Ancient Lodge 64 sent their Tyler to notify that they intended to visit this Lodge, which was accepted, and the time for receiving their visit was fixed at 8 o'clock. Received the visit of Ye Lodge 64 about their appointed time, which was returned by the officers and the rest of the members in due form."

It may be noted also that Br. Sadler was elected Sen. Deacon and Br. Sparrow Jun. Deacon.

I think there are good grounds for the opinion that these Minutes cited as Minutes of the St. Paul's Lodge 64 are as far as this point actually the Minutes of the Antient Lodge 124, and it was the Warrant of this Lodge of which Sketchley was S.W. at its founding in April of that same year—the association with the Swan (125) being ill-defined and temporary—that the St. Paul's Lodge acquired.

On January 7th, 1785, there is a Minute:—"Secretary is directed to write to the Grand Secretary to know whether there is any Provincial Master in the Warwickshire District."

January 21st, 1785: The Lodge received a letter from the Grand Secretary in answer to Bro. Secretary's letter, informing that there is *not at present* any appointment of Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire.

It may be noted in passing that the earlier fraternity and co-operation between the Moderns and the Ancients no longer existed. There is a Minute dated January 20th, 1786:—"N.B. By a letter from the Grand Lodge dated 23rd Nov. 1785 we are informed that Richard Dixon, Tho^s. Lulham, Stephen Talbot & Wm. Warham are expelled the Society for countenancing and supporting a sett of persons calling themselves 'Ancient Masons' and said to be under the patronage of the Earl of Antrim, and it was ordered that their names be printed on the account of the Quarterly Communications to prevent their gaining admittance into any regular Lodge."

On January 2nd, 1789, Bros. Timmins and Sketchley were desired to contrive a piece of furniture that shall hold the Regalia and Tools, &c., belonging to the Lodge in less room and more convenient than boxes, in order to remove a number of them out of the Tiling room.

June 7th, 1792. Letter from Grand Lodge announcing that the Grand Master had appointed Thomas Thompson, Esq., M.P., as G.M. of Warwickshire,¹ and at the meeting summoned by the new Prov.G.M. Bro. Jas. Sketchley was appointed Provincial Grand Secretary—it will be remembered that the Consecration ceremony of the St. Johns Lodge was on June 4th, 1792).

The Minute of December 7th, 1792, tells of Bro. Jas. Miller having presented the Lodge with a portrait of Bro. Sketchley for which Bro. Miller was thanked, and a gilt frame was provided "adorned with all the emblematic ornaments of Masonry." This portrait cannot now be traced.

January 17th, 1794:—"Bro. Sketchley having declared that from the low state of his finances he could not pay his half yearly subscription, it was agreed unanimously that he should be admitted an Honorary member, but not allowed to vote on the concerns of the Lodge." (£5.5.0 was subsequently voted to him.)

This is the last Minute referring to Bro. Sketchley that has been cited by Wor. Bro. B. H. Joseph in his published *Early records of St. Paul's Lodge. No. 43.*

In Bro. A. Graham's *History of Freemasonry in the Province of Shropshire* (1892), p. 124, a Minute from the Salopian Lodge 262 meeting at Shrews-

¹ The Patent of his appointment is dated 2 May 1792.

bury October, 1791, shows that the thanks of the Lodge were ordered to be sent to "Bro. Sketchley of Birmingham for his polite attention to them in sending the acct of the late Grand procession at Hereford."

He continued for some time as Provincial Grand Secretary, and, as we have seen, signed the Warrant issued to the Alcester Lodge in July, 1794, as such.

A Minute of the St. John's Lodge not previously alluded to may here be noticed:—

December 27th, 1796. "A motion being made by our Worshipful Master on account of a letter rec^d. from our Br. Sketchley informing us that he being in great distress, a subscription was proposed by the Brothering present which amounted to one Pound four shillings which was deposited in the Treasurer's hands."

A Note in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, vol. v., 29, by W.B.H., is as follows:—

"A reference to this Brother occurs in *Tokens of the 18th Century connected with Booksellers and Bookmakers*, by W. Longman 1916. After stating that Sketchley published at Birmingham from 1763 to 1780 the writer goes on to say: 'I am unable to trace particulars of the latter part of his life, but the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1801 records the death at Pekipsy, near New York, of Mr. James Sketchley of Birmingham, and it seems probable that this is the token issuer, who had migrated to America.'"

Mr. Longman says Sketchley was a member of the political "Minerva" Club at Birmingham, and appears to have been associated with Dr. Priestley, whose advanced opinions and the riotous consequences that followed are familiar in local history.

He must have been about seventy years old at the time of his death.

Lodge Funds.

To return to the St. John's Lodge.

The Treasury aspect of the Lodge needs but brief notice; it was the rock upon which this Lodge split,—as have so many others.

The payment of £3.3.0 as making fee has frequently been alluded to:—Quarterages were 9/-, and Visitors at first paid 2/- each meeting, but on May 3rd, 1793, it was "Proposed & voted that every visiting Brother from this evening and forwards should for his expenses pay 2^s/6^d." This visiting fee was usually received and entered on the accounts and even the distinguished visitors who attended for the Consecration ceremonies paid their footing for their entertainment.

On St. John's Festivals the payments were 5/- for visitors and on some occasions an additional 5/- beyond their quarterages was required from members.

The expenses of these festivals were usually from £8 to £10. As has been shown Lodge nights were often ill attended, seven to twelve may be taken as the number present. Supper bills and expenses varied from one to three guineas, the general level of such expenditure getting somewhat higher as time went on.

The initial expenses are not clear: the first item on the expenditure side being dated June 15th, 1792:—"Brot over £21.4.11"—but it is not apparent where from.

The few items following do not state the nature of the account—only the names of the creditor, but, Bro. Taylor for Jewels £5.4.4: and Bro. Osborne for Sword £3.5.6 are more explicit.

The serving maid was paid 2^s/6^d. a night, generally put down as "waiter," but the entry September 7th, 1792, is—"Give the girl £1.1.," pursuant of a Minute of that date which reads: "It is agreed unanimously upon the motion of our Worshipfull Master that Martha Cox shall be presented with a guinea for her faithful attendance upon, & many services render'd the Worshipful Master, Senior & Junior Wardens & other Brethren of this Lodge."

Relief is by no means omitted,—though its total would fall far short of the amount spent on suppers.

June 15th, 1792. Give Bro. Worthington—10^s/6^d.

July 17th, 1792. Relieved Bro. Worthington by order of Committee assembled £2.2.0, and Bro. Worthington whom we have already alluded to as the Visitor from America, continued to show his appreciation of the brotherly kindness shown him by the Lodge by being a frequent visitor afterwards,—he had attended the Consecration ceremonies on June 4th, and frequently afterwards until the end of 1792—then is absent for three years, and re-appears as a Visitor on December 4th, 1795—possibly a sailor.

A Minute on October 5th, 1792 reads:—"Ordered that one guinea be sent for the relief of Br. Thorpe now confined in Warwick Goal"—(spelt "goal," but obviously meaning gaol, as the time of Football was not yet)—and the Treasurer's entry of that date states: "Advanced for a brother at Warwick £1.1." But this does not end the matter, for there are entries for 1792 between November 16th and 29th, but not specifically dated:—

	£	s.	d.
Messenger's Eating & ale from Warwick		1.	0
P ^d . Jack Baker to go to Warwick		1.	6
Sent to Br. Thorpe's Funerall	1.	1.	0

Bro. Thorpe, it should be noted, was not a member of the Lodge.

Small items of relief are of frequent occurrence, *e.g.*:—

1792	Nov. 29	Give two brothers by order of the Master	2.	6
1793	Jan. 10	Gave a man distressed on Tramp	5.	6
	July 5	Relieved a brother	5.	0
	July 20	Relieved a brother	2.	6
1794	Jan. 4	Relieved a brother by order of the Master	2.	6
	Jan. 26	Relieved a brother	2.	6
	Mar. 7	Relieved a brother	5.	0
	June 7	Relieved a brother	5.	0
	"	Relieved a brother by order of the Master	5.	0
	July 10	Relieved a Person indisposed by disease	4.	0
1795	Mar. 5	Relieved a brother in distress	1.	3
	May 4	Relieved a brother in distress	3.	0
	"	¹ Relieved Bro. Smith by tickets	11.	0
	" 19	Relieved a brother in distress	1.	0
1796	May	Relieved two brothers by Order of the Master & J.W.	5.	0

Other interesting casual items in the accounts are:—

1793	Aug. 3	Paid Bro. Porter for the Terrestrial Globe	£1. 11.	6
	Oct. 4	Paid man for putting up the Mourning	3 ^s .	6 ^d .

This being the occasion of the memorial meeting to Br. Cheston who had been killed by a fall from his horse.

1794	Dec. 27	Paid Bro. Telford's bill for cleaning and New ribbons to the Collars	13.	4
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Bro. Telford was a Mercer in Henley.

1795	Feb. 20	Paid Bro. Whissell for 24 Masonic Almanacks for the use of the Lodge	1.	8.	0
	May 1	Paid for printing 200 Summonses	5.	0	

There are several entries of receipts of amounts of 10^s/6^d. as nomination fee—it is called a deposit in the Minutes—but nowhere is there an entry of its return in the somewhat numerous instances where no initiation followed.

¹ This is apparently the Brother from S. Carolina (and perhaps Devizes). What were the tickets? Travelling vouchers?

Twelve names are mentioned throughout the book at various times of persons nominated, but who did not proceed to initiation.

One, Charles Henry Hunt, proposed on October 19th, 1792, was an Attorney at Stratford-on-Avon, and Clerk to the Peace for the County.

It is possible that he was an early initiate in the Shakespeare Lodge 516.

The accounts were occasionally ordered to be inspected by resolution of the Lodge, but the usual mode appears as a happy drifting till trouble came.

1792. October 19th. "This day se'en night it is agreed the Officers of the Lodge should meet as a Committee to examine the accounts."

1792. December 27th. "The year's accounts belonging to the Lodge drawn out & settled this day."

Then there is a long period without any official notice of accounts in the Minutes till 1794, October 24th. "Upon inspection of the Treasurer's accounts it appears that several of the members of this Lodge are in arrears, and it is ordered that the Tyler do get the respective accounts of such members from the Treasurer, and wait on them with the same requesting immediate payment."

1796. June 3rd. "By a motion made by Br. Clarke that Br. Walker be past to a Fellow Craft, Br. Bannister being proposed on a former night that they be both past next Lodge night, by a further motion being made by the Brethren present that our Finances being in a low state, that we should in some measure curtail our Expenses, Br. Clark making a motion which was unanimously agreed upon to propose Mr. Wm. Lapley of Ashbe de la Zouch as a candidate for Masonry ballotted for & accepted, & it was our Worshipfull Mastr's order that a Lodge of Emergency be held on Wednesday the 15th inst for the purpose of making the above mentioned Candidate." This is a good specimen of a Minute by Br. Wm. Leigh.

At the emergency meeting on the 15th Br. Lapley—"living at so great distance, and having come on purpose"—was initiated and passed the same night—and, moreover, he does not appear to have attended again to claim his full reward by taking his third degree.

He is entered as having paid quarterages for the next six months. No payment is entered against him for the emergency meeting.

This appears to me to be the least creditable transaction in the history of this Lodge. That tell tale Minute before his nomination makes it look all too plainly that he was a "financial" victim.

Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, is at least fifty miles away; journeying to Henley—or Hockley—he would pass through Birmingham. The St. John's Brethren were well aware of other Lodges nearer to him: there were working at that time among the Moderns—the St. John's Lodge at Leicester; St. Bartholemew's Lodge, Fazeley; Lodge of Amity, Lichfield; Lodge of Harmony, Tamworth; The Swan, Wolverhampton; Trinity, Coventry; and St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and Union in Birmingham. Surely a more Masonic attitude towards him would have been to advise him to seek admission to one of those!

It may be noted here that the Treasurer's accounts show, November 4th, 1796: Cash in hand 6^d., and we have seen that the Quarterages and payments for St. John's night by a Visitor, and a special levy of 5/- per member brought the receipts to £6.16.: but during December, 1796, £13.5.6 was spent, so the year 1797 started badly.

1797. February 3rd. This Minute has already been given in full in reference to the proposal to remove the Lodge back to Henley. It begins:—

"It being proposed by our Worshipful Master S. Bayliss that the Treasurer's accounts be investigated, such were found in such a situation and the Lodge indebted to a considerable amount 'twas found necessary to adopt a plan to pay arrears and form a System for the better regulation of its Finances."

As we have already seen, the Lodge decided at its next meeting to remove to The George, Henley in Arden; but no further meeting was held until November, the full Minute of which meeting being as follows:—

"Lodge of Emergency. Nov. 10. 1797.

The Worshipful Master Sam^l. Bayliss in the Chair

Br. Jno. Walker S.W. P.T.

Bro. Jno. Chambers J.W.

Our late Worthy Brother & Treasurer John Clarke having departed this life since the last Lodge night, and having left the Lodge in Embarrassed circumstances It was thought prudent not to meet till this day (in order to avoid expences) and that the regular Quarterages should be applied towards the discharge of the Debts due from the Lodge. And it was resolved that every member who was in arrear should immediately be applied to, and requested to pay the same to our Secretary Br. Leigh before the next Lodge night, and that notice of this Resolution be sent to every member as soon as possible.

The Lodge closed in due time, in Harmony with all Honours due to the Grand.
Wm. Leigh, Sec^y."

Personal notes.

Such a detailed recital of the activities and difficulties of this Lodge has given us some clear idea of the chief personalities of the Lodge, and we have already been able to make some estimate of their influence, and, perhaps, of their peculiar characteristics; but we may be interested to focus the picture a little more sharply upon those six Brethren who were first introduced to us on October 24th, 1791: Samuel Porter, Wm. James, jun., Samuel Bayliss, Anthony Gibbs, William James, senr., and John Clarke.

Samuel Porter, the first Master, is obviously the dominating figure throughout; forceful, capable, clear minded, a lover of the Craft, his was the standard at which the others aimed. In the Grand Lodge Register he is described as a Portrait painter, but no age is given. I have made many endeavours to get more information about him, but so far have failed. It is not known whence he came, where he was initiated, or where or when he died. He was Worshipful Master during 1792-3 and again in 1796, and during the first two years of office, *i.e.*, from October, 1791, to October, 1793, did not miss one meeting. He missed a meeting on November 1st; but on November 15th, whilst he was in the Chair: "It was universally and unanimously agreed by the Brethren present [there were nine out of a subscribing membership of twenty-five] that nothing tends more to the discredit of Masonry, and lessening it in the eyes of Cowans, than the non-attendance of the members of the Lodge—and we would wish every Brother well to consider this;—and we hope the members of this Lodge will be constant in their attendance." This resolution appears to have had little, if any, effect, and, as fate would have it, the Master himself missed the next two meetings,—but he continued in fairly regular attendance, filling various offices, S.W., Sec., or sometimes taking the Chair during the ensuing two years till he again became Master. The last meeting he attended was on March 3rd, 1797.

There is no doubt he was greatly respected by all the Brethren, and on his quitting the Chair in 1793 a special Minute records a vote of thanks to him and the rest of the late officers.

On March 7th, 1794, it is recorded that "Bro. Porter obligingly made an offer of a Lewis and Triangle to add to the furniture of the Lodge, which offer was accepted with universal thanks" (there were six brethren present).

On February 2nd, 1793, he puts the Capital letter Z after his signature for the first time, and again on August 2nd that year, and July 4th, 1794; but this does not occur later.

His successor to the Chair, Wm. James, junr., appears a man of different stamp. As we have seen, he was an Attorney at Henley in Arden, and was initiated in the St. Alban's Lodge, Birmingham, on July 5th, 1791, being then twenty-eight years of age. His name is mentioned in Browne's General Law Lists for 1790 and 1794 as practising in Henley in Arden, and there is also a William James, a lawyer, practising there in 1780—probably his father. Conscientious, methodical, with perhaps some lack of humour, he did consistently good service for the Lodge. Somewhat less regular in his attendance whilst S.W., he was only six times absent during the two years of his mastership.

He was evidently impressed himself by the high morality of Masonry, and sought on all occasions to impress this upon others. His predecessor had for the

most part been content with the official lectures on the three Steps of Masonry, but, influenced probably by the earnest admonitions in the writings of Dunckerley, Hutchinson, or Preston, he endeavoured at once to give more scope to his philosophical ideas, and on the occasion of his Installation on 15th January, 1794, we read:—"A charge was delivered from the Chair (by our Worshipful Master Wm. James) with distinguished ability setting forth the Moral and Masonic duties of the Brethren members of this Lodge. It was proposed by our Worshipful Master Wm. James that every Lodge night in future a Lecture shall be given by some one of the Brethren on some particular subject of a Moral nature, which subject shall be propos'd from the Chair, and in case the Member appointed to give such Lecture shall decline it, then the Master shall deliver his sentiments on the subject proposed." And there is an Addendum to the Minute stating:—"A lecture the next Regular Lodge night on the Origin and Progress of Masonry."

Accordingly, on February 7th, the Lecture was delivered, in addition to the usual Lecture on the Steps of Masonry, and the next subject by the orders of the Worshipful Master was to be "that great Masonic Virtue Humility."

At the next meeting: "The Lecture ordered for the present evening was unavoidably postponed till the next Regular Lodge night," so on March 7th: "A Lecture was delivered by the Worshipful Master with great ability on that pleasing Masonic Virtue Humility,—and it was ordered from the Chair that the Lecture for the next Regular Lodge might be on the subject of Natural Philosophy—but on March 21st there is no word of a Lecture. At the bottom of the page of Minutes on April 4th the Secretary has noted, as though for a memorandum of a proposed subject, "Deductions from Nature on the Existence of a Deity,"—and that's the last that appears of that scheme; nor was attendance at meetings in any way stimulated by it.

On St. John's Night that Winter: "It was unanimously agreed that the Officers of this Lodge shall continue in their respective offices for the year ensuing: a Lecture from the Chair on the first Step of Masonry: a Lecture was likewise delivered from the Chair with great ability on the particular duties of Masons, & the excellence of Freemasonry." That night was the Festival at which the Alcester Brethren were present, and Wm. James, junr., on January 16th, 1795, signs his name in the Tyler's Book—Master Z. He must have felt he had reached his zenith.

Samuel Bayliss, also an Attorney at Henley, initiated in the St. Alban's Lodge on July 21st, 1791, at the age of twenty-five, and the first J.W., became the third W.M., having "politely" declined the Chair in 1795—"on account of business": he was more often absent from the meetings of the Lodge than the other founders—with the exception of Anthony Gibbs—but appears to have been a man of influence and stability, watchful of the interests of the Lodge, and jealous of departures from the straight Masonic path.

There is an interesting Minute on May 22nd, 1793: "it was agreed that the conduct of Br. Sketchley for various reasons assigned by Br. Bayliss is deserving of the censure of this Lodge, and a Vote of Censure was unanimously passed"; but the later words, "is deserving, etc.," have been erased and the Minute amended to read: "has been highly dissatisfactory and it was agreed that the determination of this Lodge be made known to him." What he had done does not appear, but it was perhaps connected with money matters,—the Treasurer's Book showing entry on that date: "paid Br. Sketchley £1.5.4." It was Bro. Samuel Bayliss who was Master when the Lodge closed down its meetings, and probably he who kept it alive during those long silent years, resuscitated it in 1811, and replanted it for renewed life elsewhere.

Of Anthony Gibbs, the first Secretary, we can draw a still more intimate picture, though there is some ambiguity in the G.L. entries concerning him.

Initiated in the St. Alban's Lodge on 21/7/91 he is described in the register relating to that Lodge as Attorney of Henley in Arden, but his age is not stated. Cited in the Warrant of St. John's as one of the Petitioners, he

is strangely enough noted as having "joined" the Lodge on 24/10/91, and is then described as Farmer of Alston Cantellow.

There is no doubt that the latter is correct as to his occupation; the village where he lived being Aston Cantlow. Again no age is given, and I have not yet been able to get the information. Wor. Bro. the Rev. F. A. Appplewhaite, a Past Master of the Apollo Lodge, and now Rector of Chaddesley Corbett in Worcestershire, who was for many years the incumbent of Aston Cantlow, tells me that the family of Gibbs is a very prolific one in the neighbourhood and many members of different branches of it are still living there.¹

The St. Alban's entry appears to have arisen through careless repetition of the previous one respecting Samuel Bayliss: no Attorney named Gibbs is given in the Law Lists for 1790 or 1794 as practising in Henley in Arden.

He was very infrequent in his attendances at Lodge, and resigned the Secretaryship at the end of 1792, but continued membership though attending on only four occasions afterwards.

The Story behind it all is, I think, revealed in his handwriting.

The early Minutes he wrote with a neat, firm, scholarly penmanship; but the first signature in the Tyler's Book on December 5th, 1791, is a surprise for its unsteady evening scrawl,—perhaps he was in a hurry that night and the tidy Minutes were written up at leisure next day.

On the night of his own raising, February 6th, '92, his signature is firmer, but still a scrawl compared with the more than usually flourishing entry in the Minute Book.

On June 1st, 1792, the Minutes are next in his handwriting, and his signature to the Minutes is as strong and firm and neat as any he wrote, but his entry in the Tyler's Book is deplorable. On July 6th the scrawling signature appears in the Minute Book, but the body of the Minutes and all the entries in the Tyler's Book for that night have been written by one firmer hand,—possibly by Bro. Gibbs himself next day, though the handwriting is not in his old style.

His next appearance is on December 20th, 1792, when he writes the Minutes in full himself, and signs the book in a much deteriorated handwriting. This Minute is of much interest—some of it has already been given. It continues:—

"It was this meeting unanimously agreed to, that the Presant Wor^d. Master Sam^l. Porter, sho'd fill the Chair for the ensuing year. In consideration of the particular attention he has paid to the Duties of his Office for the time he has hold that elevated station, and the eminent Masonic services he has rendered to the Fraternity at Large, and each Individual of this Lodge in particular, but not so as to extend as a precedent for any future Master or Masters to take advantage of.

And it is further unanimously agreed that the Preasant Senr. Warding Br. W^m. James fill that Chair as usual for the year ensuing, and likewise the Jun^r. Warding Br. Sam^l. Bayliss. But in consideration of the Treasurer & Secretary, as they cannot make it convenient regularly to attend every Lodge night, it is unanimously agreed to that Br. Clarke stand in the office of Treasurer and Bro. W^m. Izod as Secretary.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first Step of Masonry, the Lodge clos'd in due Time with all Honours paid to the Grand.

Anth^y. Gibbs Sec^y."

Bro. Gibbs was present at the next meeting—and once each in February, April and June that year; but though he continued membership of the Lodge, and his payments regularly appear in the Treasurer's Book until June, 1794, he did not again attend Lodge, and on August 5th, 1796, we get the not unexpected Minute:—"A motion being made by the Master, that upon the Death of Br. Anthony Gibbs that Br. Whitmore of Stratford upon Avon be wrought too to Prepare a funeral sermon, and that members of this Lodge be summons to attend at Abram Morrels at the sign of the Sun in Aston Cantlow on Sunday the 14th inst, and that the appear in decent mourning with White Aprons & Gloves."

¹ Before this paper was read in Lodge, Wor. Bro. Appplewhaite had passed beyond the veil.

Aston Cantlow is a village about four miles from Henley on the Alcester Road; nine miles from Hockley Heath, where the Lodge was then meeting. The Parish Register has entry of the burial of Anthony Gibbs on Aug. 6, 1796, but gives no age. It is interesting to recall that it was at this Church at Aston Cantlow that John Shakespeare, of Stratford-on-Avon, married Mary Arden in 1557.

The Treasurer's Book shows entry:—

	s	d
Expenses at Bro. Gibb's funeral	17.	2

Though his active participation in the work of the Lodge had been small, he was evidently beloved and respected by the Brethren,—too much perhaps of a boon companion, for those tell-tale signatures point to evening lapses that were prone too frequently to recur, and may have been the foundation of that ill-health which became so early apparent.

The first Treasurer of the Lodge, Wm. James, senr., impresses one with his constant loyalty to the Lodge, and unassuming fidelity to its interests.

He was the Innholder of the Talbot, but even when the Lodge moved elsewhere he was still unfailing in his attendance: he rarely took any office after that first year as Treasurer,—we saw him acting as Secretary at one meeting in July, 1793, and on two occasions he held the Senior Warden's Chair P.T.—but his total of attendances shows 79 out of a possible 108. Whilst acting as Treasurer, from the founding of the Lodge until the end of 1792, he had not missed a single meeting,—so that the bracketting of his name with that of the Secretary in the Minute of December 20th, 1792, as one who should not be continued in office, “as they cannot make it convenient regularly to attend every Lodge night,” did him great injustice.

He was not present at the St. John's Festival the next week, but he continued faithfully to attend the meetings, throughout the whole of that year, but always signs the Tyler's Book as a Visitor, and paid the Visitor's fee, but ceased paying quarterages,—falling into line with the requirements of the *Book of Constitutions* forbidding innholders to become members of the Lodges meeting on their premises, as we have seen was done by Ferdinando Babbington, of Hockley.

He attended very regularly as a Visitor until March, 1794, and then there was an absence until July, when he again signs the Tyler's Book as a regular member, and continued to do so thereafter.

The Talbot appears to have passed to Samuel Wild at about this time, payments being made to Mrs. Wild for Lodge night expenses. He was proposed for membership of the Lodge on May 2nd, 1794, and was one of the members speeded up for the Alcester ceremony. He always signed as a Member of the Lodge, so that probably The Talbot was held in the name of his wife.

William James' name appears on the roll of Quarterages in the Treasurer's Book for the October and December quarters, with the words “Ent^d. against him” written against it, but the 9/- is in both instances marked as having been paid; afterwards he appears as Br. James Esq^{re}., without the mark of payment against his 9/-: possibly it was liquidated by some contra account.

He survived to attend the meeting on March 8th, 1811, then nearly seventy years of age, and acted as Senior Warden.

His successor to the office of Treasurer, Bro. Jno. Clarke, was also very constant in attendance, showing in all 90 attendances out of a possible 106 in the five years he was a member; he frequently sat in the Wardens' Chairs—as we have seen he was J.W. on the night he was raised—but it must be admitted that he was a poor custodian of the funds of the Lodge. There is nowhere any indication of defalcations or dishonesty, but he was careless in administering the funds and in keeping strict accounts and control, and allowed matters to drift financially till the Lodge was wrecked and ruined.

So now the time has come when we can read the last Minute on that inset fasciculus, and see how these worthy men passed from Masonic life:—

1811.

"Saint Johns Lodge No. 492. held at the Geo. Inn Henley 8th day of March 1811, it being a case of Emergency.

Br. Sam^l. Bayliss W.M.

W^m. James. S.W. P.T.

Jno. Chambers J.W.

Bro. Witheridge. Visitor

„ Hercules Hill „

Br. W^m. Osborne Visitor

„ Jas. R. Watred „

The minutes of the last Lodge night. viz the 10th November 1797 were read & confirmed by the meeting.

A motion was made by Br. Bayliss (that in consequence of the death or removal of nearly all the members of the Lodge it was impossible to carry on the Business of Masonry in Henley in Arden agreeably to the Rules & orders contained in the Warrant for constituting the said Lodge, and in conformity to the wish of the Provincial Grand Master for the County, the Honble Washington Shirley) he proposed that this Lodge be removed to the St. Georges Tavern in the High St., Birmingham, and in future be held there on the Second Monday in each month,—which being seconded by Brother Chambers and supported by Brother James being the only members of the Lodge present, it was unanimously Agreed to, and the said Lodge is accordingly removed to the said House, and appointed to be held there on the 11th inst.

— Signed —

Sam^l. Bayliss W.M.

W^m. James. S.W. P.T.

Jno. Chambers J.W."

The allusion to the Warrant as then existing and having authority should be particularly noted. This is the only occasion in the book where mention is made of reading and confirming Minutes of previous meetings, and it is opportune that this was done, for, since the original book had been filled to the last page, there would have been no means of rebutting the opinion that another book might have been started and been mislaid.

The Lodge was duly moved to Birmingham, and named the Shakespeare Lodge, and continued its existence at various taverns (as set out in Lane's Records) until it was erased in 1837.

Bye-Laws of Shakespeare Lodge 492.

I have been fortunate enough to find in the possession of Wor. Bro. Swinden, the P.G.Sec. of Warwickshire, a copy of the Bye-Laws of this resuscitated Lodge. It is a small paper-covered pamphlet bearing no date, but evidently embodying very early, if not the original Bye-Laws.

It is entitled "Bye-Laws for the establishment of Good Order and Regularity in the Shakespear Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons No. 492, Birmingham. Printed by Swinney & Farrell High St."

The name Swinney is interesting in this imprint, for it will be recalled that Br. Sketchley had been connected from 1769 to 1774 with "The Newspaper" which ultimately became Swinney's Chronicle.

A few extracts from the Bye-Laws may show how those early experiences in the St. John's Lodge at Henley had taught these remaining Brethren to avoid like difficulties:—

"Bye Law VII. That each member of the Lodge shall pay the sum of ten shillings & sixpence in advance, towards the expenses of the Lodge, viz on the Lodge nights preceding the 25th day of Dec., the 25th day of March, the 24th day of June, and the 29th Day of September, and if any member shall remain in arrears for three quarters he shall be waited upon by some Brother deputed by the Master, and if he refuses or neglects to pay on or before the ensuing Lodge night, he shall be excluded the Lodge, and be declared incapable of visiting it, or becoming a member of it again.

VIII. That every brother conferring the honour of a visit to this Lodge shall pay a fee of four shillings towards the expenses of the evening.

X. That in conducting the proceedings of the Lodge on the third stroke of the Master's hammer, which shall be repeated twice by the Senior Warden, and once by the Junior Warden, there shall be a general silence, which on no account shall be broken by anyone, without leave from the Chair; No one is to speak more than once on the same subject unless to explain himself, or when called upon by the Master to speak: the speaker is always to rise & address himself in a proper manner to the Master: nor shall anyone presume to interrupt him, unless the Master, finding him wander from the point, shall think fit to enjoin him to order, when he may proceed again, if he

pleases; and any member acting contrary to these regulations shall be fined sixpence for each offence, and if he refuses to pay the same, and the admonition of the Master is found insufficient to reduce him to order & regularity, a special meeting of the members of the Lodge shall be called in the ensuing Lodge night, when it shall be determined by ballot whether or no he shall be excluded from the Lodge.

XV. That to preserve due order and decorum and to prevent irregularities in the Lodge, the Steward is to be particularly careful that no wine, nor any other liquor be admitted into the Room, on account of the Lodge after it is closed: and also that no brother be admitted into the Lodge in improper cloathing, nor in a coloured neckhandkerchief."

It is a point of great interest to consider why the St. John's Lodge was allowed to be dormant from 1797 to 1811 without being erased from the Register of Grand Lodge,—particularly when we consider the peculiar happenings at just that period.

In his *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges* (1889) Lane considers in close detail the circumstances which led to the pressure by Grand Lodge.

At the Grand Lodge held on 20th November, 1799, it was "Resolved That Notice be given to such Lodges as have not complied with the Law (passed on the 7th February, 1798, requiring a payment of two shillings per annum from each member towards liquidating the debts of the Society, and which was afterwards designated the Liquidation Fund) that unless they made their payments in conformity thereto on or before the Grand Lodge to be held on the 12th day of February next, the Lodges in default shall be considered as in Contempt, and be erased from the list of Lodges." To this Resolution the following significant notification was appended:—"The Lodges are therefore enjoined to conform thereto, and it behoves every Lodge to be particularly careful not to incur a Forfeiture of its Constitution at the Present Period, as in consequence of the late Act of Parliament, no new Constitution can be granted."

This was the 39 Geo. III. Cap 79 passed on 12th July, 1799, for the suppression of Secret Societies; and though Free Masons were specially exempted under Sections V. and VI., this exemption appeared to be applicable only to Lodges already in existence.

Thus arose the trafficking in Dormant Warrants—and seeing that such were so much sought after, and the St. John's had not complied with the stringent rule of Grand Lodge, it is indeed curious that it should have survived this long dormant period with apparently unimpaired authority.

In Lane's Records (2nd Edition) he cites the St. John's Lodge No. 492 of Henley in Arden as having "Lapsed about 1804, and calls it No. 492A, giving the Shakespeare Lodge of the St. George's Tavern, High St., Birmingham, the No. 492B, and stating the date of Warrant as 14 Jan. 1811. It would be interesting to know what it was that was issued on January 14th, 1811. The resuscitation meeting, we remember, was on March 8th of that year.

At any rate, we now know that there was here a real continuity, since the same W.M. and J.W. took up the work, and this transaction does not merit inclusion among the Forty-six instances Lane gives of "New Lodges which appear to me to have no connection whatever with the former Lodges whose 'numbers' or 'Dormant Warrants' they received, and by the acquisition of which old numbers or Warrants the Act of Parliament was practically rendered inoperative, the 'latent powers' of extinct lodges being revived for entirely new and distinct organisations."

Forty-fifth on this list he cites "No. 492 St. Johns Lodge Henley in Arden Warwickshire [No. 583 of 15th October, 1791] was transferred to 'The Shakespeare Lodge' Birmingham in the same County."

There was evidently no earlier erasure. But why not? Nine Lodges were erased in 1798: five in 1799, including No. 516 at Stratford-upon-Avon: six in 1800: six in 1801; though the Earl of Moira had specially concerned himself in persuading Lodges to comply.

Still more stringent steps were taken in 1809 when it was resolved that the Grand Master should be authorised to *assign* to other Brethren the Warrants

of Lodges which had been erased—payment to Grand Lodge for a Constitution being duly made by the New Lodge—and twenty-six Lodges were erased for non-compliance with the order to support the Liquidation Fund.

From 1802 to 1809 no Lodges had been 'erased,' since all the defunct or dormant Lodges had had their numbers or Warrants 'assigned' to other new organisations, but on putting into operation the authorisation to issue Warrants with new numbers the Erasure list was again required.

With all this turmoil extant, this hunger for dormant Warrants, and this pressure for compliance with the financial requirements of Grand Lodge, how came it that this obscure provincial Lodge should have been left with its Warrant,—at least until its own members sought to revive it?

Two indications of some person—whether Samuel Porter, or Samuel Bayliss, or some other cannot be determined—having taken an active interest in the affairs of the Lodge between November 10th, 1797, and March 8th, 1811, have already been alluded to. Firstly, the payment of dues to the Grand Lodge Liquidation Fund of 2 guineas in 1801, and, secondly, the acquisition,—by purchase or otherwise,—of some of the furniture and properties of the Shakespeare Lodge of Stratford-on-Avon, which had been erased in 1799.

Still the amount paid was small, and was not repeated after 1801,—and its adequacy in staving off the displeasure of Grand Lodge during those troublous years is still remarkable.

But so it was; its activities were continued in the neighbouring city, and those worthy Brethren, who had laboured for the Order, had not worked in vain: their own child, "The Apollo Lodge," continued and still lives at Alcester. The Shakespeare continued for some twenty-five years more in Birmingham, and if that little band of devotees to what they themselves described as "The Holy Cause in which we are engaged" could see us thus interested now in their Masonic efforts of nearly a century-and-a-half ago they might, perhaps, think they had not lived their Masonic lives for nought.

And if in piecing together these fragments of bygone times the spirit has breathed on the dry bones and made them live for you as they live for me, I shall be amply repaid: my chief difficulty being that as they lived, so others sprang to life around and beyond them beckoning in divers directions so insistently that it had been churlish indeed not to follow, even though the path became thereby so crooked and involved.

APPENDIX A.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE, HENLEY-IN-ARDEN.

List of Visitors in Tyler's Book.

Nov. 21.	1791.	Jo ^s . Thompson. (W ^m . Adair, entered in Minute Book.)
Dec. 27.	1791.	Joseph Thompson.
Mar. 2.	1792.	John Whitmore.
Mar. 16.	1792.	Jos. Thompson (as Tyler P.T.).
Mar. 21.	1792.	T. Crane.
May 13.	1792.	James Bisset, St. Albans 176, J. Sketchley.
May 23.	1792.	James Bisset, No. 176, Jas. Sketchley, S. Toy.
June 1.	1792.	Asa Worthington, S ^t . Michaels Lodge Con ^t . America No. 16, Rob ^t . Frear, Ensign ? K.T.
June 4.	1792.	S. Toy, J. Cooke, H. Osborn, Jo ^s . Taylor, Jno. Chambers, James Bisset, Richard Barker, John Bryan, Tho ^s . Horsley, J. Sketchley, A. Worthington, Joseph Boruw- laskie.
June 15.	1792.	Richard Webster.

June	26.	1792.	Asa Worthington.
July	6.	1792.	A. Worthington, Brandon Whissell, H. Osborn, John Southey, Rippon Shield, Rich ^d . Webster.
July	23.	1792.	Jno. Southey, R ^d . Webster.
Aug.	3.	1792.	A. Worthington, Jno. Southey.
Sep.	7.	1792.	Richard Webster, Asa Worthington.
Dec.	7.	1792.	Asa Worthington.
Dec.	20.	1792.	Rippon Shield.
Dec.	27.	1792.	J. Southey, R. Webster.
Jan.	4.	1793.	W. James.
Jan.	18.	1793.	W. James.
Feb.	1.	1793.	W. James, John Whitaker.
Feb.	15.	1793.	W. James.
Mar.	1.	1793.	Hen ^y . Osborn, W. James.
Mar.	15.	1793.	W. James.
Mar.	16.	1793.	W. James.
Apl.	5.	1793.	W. James, Rich ^d . Webster.
May	3.	1793.	W. James.
May	17.	1793.	W. James.
June	7.	1793.	James Bisset, Charles Pamfrey, W. James.
June	24.	1793.	W. James.
July	5.	1793.	W. James.
Sep.	6.	1793.	Constantine Maguir, W. James.
Oct.	4.	1793.	Saml. Oliver Hunt, Charles Pestell, Tho ^s . Smith, Constantine Maguire, Jno. Zouch.
Nov.	1.	1793.	John Chapman.
Dec.	6.	1793.	J. Whitmore, W. James.
Jan.	15.	1794.	W. James.
Feb.	7.	1794.	John Chapman, Joseph Thompson.
Feb.	21.	1794.	W. James.
Mar.	7.	1794.	J. Whitmore, W. James.
Mar.	21.	1794.	Tho ^s . Hemings, Tho ^s . Dobbs.
April	4.	1794.	John Snape.
June	6.	1794.	Tho ^s . Dobbs, John Whitaker.
July	29.	1794.	Saml. Burton, John Tree, Joseph Lee, Edw ^d . Shaw, W ^m . Jones, John Whitaker, Tho ^s . Dobbs.
Oct.	24.	1794.	Samuel Wild.
Nov.	7.	1794.	W ^m . Manley, Apollo Lodge No. 532, Launcelott Knowles Lodge No. 147.
Dec.	5.	1794.	John Whitaker, Tho ^s . Dobbs.
Dec.	27.	1794.	Jos. Brandish, Brandon Whissoll, W ^m . Taylor, W ^m . Clarke, Ar. Stiles, John Bishop, Stephen Hobbins, W ^m . Manly, Tho ^s . Bolton, H. Sarsons, John Whitaker.
Jan.	16.	1795.	Jos ^b . Thompson (as Tyler P.T.).
May	1.	1795.	Joseph Smith, No. 40 Charles Town, South Carolina.
July	3.	1795.	A. Bootes, No. 516.
Aug.	7.	1795.	Jonathan Izod, F ^r . Babington, John Waring.
Aug.	21.	1795.	F. Babbington.
Oct.	2.	1795.	John Waring, F ^r . Babington.
Nov.	6.	1795.	F ^r . Babington.
Dec.	4.	1795.	F ^r . Babington, A. Worthington.
Mar.	4.	1796.	F ^r . Babington.
May	6.	1796.	John Waring, F ^r . Babington, William Spender, Union 514.
June	3.	1796.	John Southey.
July	1.	1796.	F ^r . Babington.
Aug.	5.	1796.	John Waring, F ^r . Babington.
Sep.	2.	1796.	F ^r . Babington.
Oct.	7.	1796.	John Rooukin, Prince's Lodge, Cav ^t . Square (?), Boote, Shakespeare Lodge 516.

Nov. 4.	1796.	Fr. Babington.
Dec. 27.	1796.	W ^m . Taylor, J. Whitmore, Jno. Waring.
Feb. 3.	1797.	Fr. Babington.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Carter for his interesting paper, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. John Stokes, W. W. Covey-Crump, Lionel Vibert, F. W. Golby, Gilbert W. Daynes, H. C. de Lafontaine, D'Arcy Power, F. G. Swinden, W. Jenkinson, G. W. Bullamore and F. C. Wellstood.

Bro. JOHN STOKES said:—

It is becoming more and more recognised that the solution and explanation of many obscure Masonic problems is to be found in the records of the Eighteenth Century Lodges. It was often the case that these Minutes were badly kept and that the information desired is not accessible except occasionally by inference. The trouble is that those for whose benefit the Minutes were written were aware of certain details which it was unnecessary to mention in their case but which is by no means obvious to us. All the same, a careful and systematic study of these old Minute Books is not only interesting in itself but always reveals the manner and methods of the time; indeed, the sidelight thrown on contemporary customs is invaluable as well from the historical as from the Masonic point of view.

Bro. T. M. Carter is to be congratulated warmly on the admirable study he has given us of the detailed working of an old Warwickshire Lodge. The allusion to the Royal Brunswick Lodge of Sheffield in 1794 is worthy of notice, for the founders of this Lodge were all members of the Lodge No. 72, under the Antients. There is no record of "remaking," so that we are driven to the conclusion that the Moderns were not so strict in carrying out their regulations as they represented themselves to be. There is another similar instance in Sheffield at an earlier date, the Lodge No. 85 (now the Britannia Lodge No. 139) constituted by the Antients in 1761, decided to go over to the Moderns in 1765 and for some years after that date described itself under the number 85 Antients and 340 Moderns. Apparently the Moderns granted the Charter without raising any difficulty, and the Lodge working seems to have continued just as before. The change of allegiance only took place, but nothing else happened. It is rather curious to see that the new Lodge almost at once proceeded to give birth to offspring, and just as the young mother suffers from too early reproductivity, so did the young Lodge pay the price of a premature activity in that direction.

In Sheffield the landlord of the Inn at which a Lodge met was always a member of the Lodge and frequently an important member, in spite of the *Book of Constitutions*.

With reference to "Emergency" Meetings, I have gone through several old Minute Books and (*e.g.*, Rose and Crown Lodge) frequent emergency meetings were held, but there is no trace of or any reference to their being held by virtue of a "Dispensation." The needs of the members were the only consideration taken into account, and it must be remembered that London was a long way off and that the Province *quâ* Province was of very little importance and certainly the interference of the Province with the working or methods of a private Lodge would have aroused great opposition and awakened feelings of resentment. It is also worthy of note that in many cases the Minutes were written by the Master who presided at the meeting and signed by him the same night.

Sunday meetings were frequently held in Sheffield (and in the early period the R.A. was always held on a Sunday), and there is no record of such meetings being objected to.

It should be noted that the word "Installation" means no more than placing in the Chair. The Rose and Crown Lodge for several years styled the

Wardens "Installed Wardens." Furthermore, the Minutes of the Rose and Crown Lodge give one the impression that the Installation of the Master was done in the presence of all the Brethren, *i.e.*, those who had not, as well as those who had, been masters.

It was customary for the lectures to agree with the degree in which the Lodge was working, but the first, the second and the third are recorded as given in the Lodge in the Third Degree, and occasionally there is this entry:—"A Lecture was given on the Globes," which at that time were part of the furniture of many Lodges. The Lecture on Mortality given by Bro. Whitmore (Sept. 7, 1792) sounds as if it were a part of the Third Address after raising.

The Rose and Crown Minutes give a number of similar cases of speedy working for no apparent reason except perhaps the caprice of the moment.

The absence of any record of an important ceremony is characteristic; we have found the same thing over and over again. It is the case that the big meetings of the year, especially the St. John's Festivals, are almost invariably written with very meagre detail, and sometimes are not recorded at all. There are various interpretations of this lapse, some charitable, some uncharitable, but our ancient brethren at any rate always meant well.

The members of the Quatuor Coronati who visited Sheffield in 1922 were very much interested in an old book containing the signatures of several old members of the Rose and Crown Lodge with the triple Tau affixed, several years earlier than the establishment of a Royal Arch Chapter. Bro. David Flather informs me that he is of the opinion that "this mark may be intended as a mark of an Installed Master," in which case it might signify that the secrets of an Installed Master contained some part of what we now know as the Royal Arch Degree.

As to fraternity and co-operation between Moderns and Antients, this certainly existed in Sheffield and there does not appear to have been any difficulty in passing from one to the other, though in practice the passing was always one way, *i.e.*, from the Antients to the Moderns.

Bro. Carter has rendered a great service to Masonic Study in bringing before us this invaluable record, for which we are grateful. What a wealth of associations cluster round the name of Henley-in-Arden!

Bro. the Rev. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP, S.W., said:—

With much pleasure I beg to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Carter for his valuable and interesting paper.

In regard to the name of the Lodge I may mention two coincidences: (1) That the parish church at Henley-in-Arden is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and therefore may have had something to do with the selection of that name; and (2) that the same number, 492, happens to be held to-day by a St. John's Lodge, but one (founded in 1843) in the island of Antigua.

I think we may fairly infer that the proposal to start the Lodge at Henley originated from Bro. Porter, and that the initiation of several friends in the St. Alban's Lodge was effected to qualify them as other founders in the local venture.

To two other points raised by Bro. Carter may I add a brief comment? The first is in regard to the three Lectures on the "Steps of Masonry," which the evidence adduced seems to prove to have been certain conventional stereotyped forms of emblematical instruction, pertaining to the respective Degrees (somewhat similar to the "Explanations of the Tracing Boards"), thus differing from other lectures delivered from time to time, and which obviously were specially prepared orations. The second point is that there is an old house, near Stratford-on-Avon, called "Welcombe Lodge"; and it may have been the residence of the Bro. Hasswell who was initiated in 1793.

By the courtesy of W. Bro. J. J. Rainey, I recently was enabled to inspect the historic furniture to which allusion has been made. At the dissolution of

the Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford it came into the possession of members of St. John's Lodge in 1799, and came into use again when the Lodge was revived under a new (and yet familiar) name at Birmingham in 1811. It is still cherished by the Shakespeare Lodge (426) at Spilsby in Lincolnshire. I need not dilate upon its details as they have been set forth in our *Transactions* (vol. x.), and will furnish a delightful addendum to any readers of Bro. Carter's paper who can visit that quaint old Lodge.

Bro. F. W. GOLBY said:—

In some respects the early career of the St. John's Lodge No. 583, constituted in Warwickshire by the Grand Lodge of the Moderns in 1791, is similar to that of the Neptune Lodge No. 22 founded in London by the Grand Lodge of the Antients some thirty-four years previously, *i.e.*, in the year 1757.

From pages 1 and 2 of the "History of the Neptune Lodge No. 22" it will be seen that that Lodge started with two or three founders who met at regular intervals as an unconstituted Lodge from August to December, 1757, being constituted in the latter month. At these meetings they initiated others and increased in number from two or three to twelve at the date of constitution.

The first recorded Neptune meeting was evidently preceded by others as was the case in the St. John's Lodge which also met as a Masonic Lodge for some months before constitution.

Like the St. John's Lodge the Minutes of the Neptune Lodge contain no record of the constitution of the Lodge although that it was duly constituted is shown in pages 11 and 12 of its "History."

Another point of similarity is the assistance given by visiting Brethren. In the case of the St. John's Lodge in its earlier months occasionally it was only by the assistance of visitors that the work of the Lodge could be done.

Pages 47 and 48 of the Neptune Lodge History show that in the year 1801 the Lodge was dying, but that between the years 1801 and 1803 the Lodge was visited by other Athol Brethren who attended as Visitors, paying the usual Visitors' fee, acted as the officers of the Lodge *pro tempore* and in the period mentioned introduced their friends as initiates or joining members, discontinuing their attendance after they had completely resuscitated the Lodge.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that one of the Birmingham Lodges referred to in his paper by Bro. Carter received a visit on the 25th June, 1764, from "The Antient Lodge No. 64." This Antient Lodge at Birmingham is referred to on pages 12 and 13 of the introduction to the "History of the Neptune Lodge" as being the Lodge which received in 1764 the Warrant No. 64 originally granted to the Neptune Lodge in 1757 and given up by them to the Antient Grand Lodge in exchange for the Warrant No. 13 purchased in 1759.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES said:—

I am sure we all welcome the paper we have heard this evening. In giving us the Records of St. John's Lodge No. 583, Henley-in-Arden, Bro. Carter has added yet one more page to the History of Freemasonry in the eighteenth century. Although, in the main, the practices and customs disclosed were those in vogue in other Lodges working during the same period, yet here and there one notices minor peculiarities, which give added interest to a perusal of these Minutes. Still, even when similarities with other Records are found, the confirmatory evidence thus obtained is of considerable value.

Bro. Carter refers to the *Illustrations of Masonry* by William Preston, and to his very unusual reference to the founding of private Lodges. The reason will, I think, become quite apparent upon a perusal of the early volumes of the *Freemason's Magazine*, a monthly Masonic paper, the first number of which

appeared in July, 1793. William Preston must have gone through these volumes in search of suitable material to bring his History of Masonry, in the 9th Edition of *Illustrations of Masonry*, up to date. Thus, in the *Freemason's Magazine* for June, 1793, there is the Address to H.M. the King, dated the 6th February, 1793, and the subsequent Address of thanks to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Grand Master, for his condescension in presenting it (vol. i., pp. 17-19). Again, in the *Freemason's Magazine* for January, 1795, there is the Address of the Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in North America to their Brother George Washington, dated 27th Decr., 1792, with his Reply or Answer (vol. iv., pp. 46, 47). Also, in the *Freemason's Magazine* for April, 1795, there is the Address to the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his Marriage, resolved on by the Grand Lodge on the 15th April, 1795 (vol. iv., pp. 219, 220), and in the same magazine for June, 1795, there is the Reply of H.R.H. to that Address (vol. iv., p. 415). These items are copied verbatim by Preston, and there are also other items in the magazine, which must have been utilized by him when preparing his 9th edition. Amongst these are the accounts of the Constitutions of the Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford-on-Avon (vol. i., pp. 68-69), of the Lodge of Apollo at Alcester (vol. iii., pp. 143, 144), and of the Royal Brunswick Lodge at Sheffield (vol. iii., pp. 144, 146). To support still further the assumption I have made, I would point out, that Preston refers to the *Freemason's Magazine*, stating that its publication was one of the Masonic occurrences of the year, and that it was "a general repository for everything curious and important in Masonry," and also that, in the 9th Edition of *Illustrations of Masonry*, Preston refers to the three new Lodges in question in the same order as the accounts of their respective Constitutions appear in the *Freemason's Magazine*, although in that magazine the accounts relating to the Lodge of Apollo and the Royal Brunswick Lodge are out of chronological order.

Bro. Carter has given a short extract from the *Freemason's Magazine* with reference to the Dedication of the Shakespeare Lodge, but as it does not contain any reference to the Ceremony I venture to quote the notice at length. It runs thus:—

"Masonic Intelligence.

"We have to return our sincere Thanks to a very worthy Brother, our Correspondent at Birmingham, for his kind communication of the following particulars, accompanied with a Song, sung at the Dedication of the Shakespere Lodge, (No. 516) at Stratford on Avon, on Tuesday the 4th of June, inst. and which we are happy to insert, as we doubt not it will be very acceptable to all our Brethren.

On Tuesday the 4th inst. a grand Procession took place at Stratford on Avon, in consequence of the Dedication of the Shakespere Lodge of Masons in that town, which was most respectably attended by the different Lodges:—indeed, never since the Celebration of the Jubilee has there been such a numerous and elegant assemblage of people; the Ladies in particular seeming to vie with each other, who should best express their respect on the occasion. The whole of the business was conducted in such a manner, as reflected the greatest credit on the respective Brethren who superintended the order of Procession. The thanks of the County is justly due to Mr. James Timmins, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, for the very able and elegant manner in which he delivered the Lectures; and the uniform and orderly behaviour of the Brethren gave the most entire satisfaction to an admiring and delighted Populace.

On the 5th a Free Ball was given, which for Beauty and Brilliancy, far surpassed any thing of the kind ever remembered at Stratford. Every Brother appeared in his Apron, and the Grand Provincial Officers, and the Masters and Officers of the different Lodges wore their Sashes and Jewels. One Brother wore a suit of

Buttons with Masonic Emblems, &c., elegantly set, which cost upwards of Ten Guineas, and many wore Aprons worth from Five to Ten Pounds each."

Immediately following this Account comes the Song referred to at the beginning of the Notice. It is headed, "The following Song was composed and sung upon the occasion by Mr. James Bisset, Steward of the St. Alban's Lodge, Birmingham."

Bro. Carter having given some considerable space to the Lodge of Apollo, Alcester, I will add to the information given by quoting the Account of its Constitution, as it appeared in the *Freemason's Magazine* for August, 1794. It is placed under "Masonic Intelligence," and runs thus:—

"Alcester, July 31.

Yesterday the Lodge of Apollo was constituted here, and afforded one of the most grand spectacles ever seen in this quarter.

The different Lodges that attended the procession were formed at the Angel Inn, and then crossed to the Town Hall, where the Lodge of Apollo was held. At ten o'clock the procession began to move in the following order to the church:—

Band of Music,
Tyler, with a drawn sword,
Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford, No. 516,
Junior Brethren, two and two,
Secretary and Treasurer,
Senior and Junior Wardens,
The Bible, Square, and Compass, on a
crimson velvet cushion, carried by a
Past Master, and supported by two
Stewards with white rods,
The Master.
Lodge of St. John, Henley, in the
same order.
New Lodge of Apollo,
Tyler,
Junior Brethren with Ashlers,
Secretary, with the Warrant of
Constitution,
Treasurer with Purse,
Senior and Junior Wardens,
Book of Constitution carried by a Master,
Bible, Square, and Compass, &c., carried

by a Master supported by two Stewards,
The Master,
Visiting Brethren, two and two,
Lodge of St. Alban's, of Birmingham,
in the same order.
Lodge of St. Paul's, Birmingham, ditto.
Royal Arch Chapter of Fortitude in all
their Ensigns and different Orders accord-
ing to their degrees, followed by the
W.Br. Toy, Principal.
Provincial Grand Lodge.
Grand Sword Bearer,
Rev. Br. Green, as Grand Chaplain,
Br. Sketchley, G.S.,
Br. Parker, G.T.,
Br. B. S. Heaton, Esq., G.S.W.,
Br. C. Downs, G.J.W.,
Bible, supported by Br. J. Timmins, Esq.,
D.P.G.M.,
Supported by Br. J. Zouch, Esq., and
Br. J. Bisset,
Grand Stewards, with gold rods.

The number of Masons in the procession was 121.

To gratify the curiosity of an amazing concourse of people the procession went round the town to church, the distance of half a mile. When they arrived at the porch the junior Lodges fell to right and left, leaving a space in the midst for the Provincial and Senior Lodges to pass between them, the youngest Brethren entering last. The service at church was opened by appropriate music, composed by Br. J. Clark of Birmingham, and sung by Br. Moore, Clark, &c. Hymns adapted for the occasion were sung by the Charity-children; and after a most pathetic and excellent sermon, preached by the Rev. Br. Green, the company returned in the same order to the hall, when the dedication and consecration took place, which was conducted in such a solemn manner as to give infinite pleasure to every Mason. The W.D.P.G.M., in a well-delivered oration, laid down the duty of every man, both as a Mason, and as a member of society. During the ceremony sacred music was performed, and I never witnessed

any thing more grand or solemn, nor heard any music that so enraptured the senses, as when we sung in full chorus, 'Glory to God, &c.'

Every thing was conducted with such propriety as to do great credit to the respective officers; and the thanks of the Fraternity are justly due to Br. Bisset, G.S., for the order and regularity in which he kept the procession, as under his management the whole was conducted.

After an elegant entertainment the company adjourned to the Bowling-green, where many loyal, constitutional, and Masonic toasts and sentiments were given, and the day was spent with great harmony, mirth, and conviviality. Peace, unity, and brotherly love, reigned solely there. Some favourite Masonic songs were given by Brs. Clark, Moore, Bisset, Toy, James, Porter, Morrel, Cox, Barber, &c. &c., and in the evening a free Ball was given for the Ladies, which was numerously attended; and it was not till Phoebus had made his appearance that the company thought of parting. Every countenance exhibited marks of satisfaction, and I am happy to observe that Freemasonry seems to be held in universal estimation in this county; and I make no doubt but it will extend its cheerful rays through every county in the kingdom: which that it may is the sincere wish of your Brother, J.M.

P.S.—All the Provincial Grand Officers were clothed in aprons ornamented with purple and gold, with elegant gold enamelled jewels, presented to each by the Worshipful Br. Timmins, D.P.G.M., who, much to his honour, has done every thing at his own cost, without putting the Provincial Lodges to any expence."

It will be noted that Preston made an error in stating that the Constitution in the Lodge of Apollo took place on the 31st July, 1794. I should say that the error arose in consequence of Preston copying the date at the head of the Account above quoted, and omitting to observe that the Account said "Yesterday."

In the acknowledgments to Correspondents which appear at the beginning of each number of the *Freemason's Magazine*, amongst those for August, 1794, I find the following:—

"Our Brother J.M. from whom we received the Detail of the Ceremony at Alcester, has very much obliged us, and we return him our Thanks. We wish he would add to his Favour 'An Account of the Present State of Masonry in his County,' as a Contribution towards the Completion of a Plan, set on foot by Brother Stanfield of Sunderland, of a General History of the present State of Masonry in Great Britain."

Brother J.M. does not appear to have complied with this request, or, if he did, the Account was not inserted in the *Freemason's Magazine* up to June, 1796. I have not been able to discover the identity of "J.M.," but, perhaps, Brother Carter can recognize the initials. Of course they may be fictitious if, for instance, the Account was by the Grand Steward, Bro. James Bisset. The reference to Bro. Bisset in the Account is against this assumption, unless he wanted perchance to give himself a slight puff. The Account of the Dedication of the Shakespeare Lodge came from Birmingham, and might well have been sent by Bro. Bisset, especially as it concludes with his Song. Another possible Author is James Sketchley, the Grand Secretary.

In passing, I might say that the Account of the Constitution of the Royal Brunswick Lodge, Sheffield, given in the *Freemason's Magazine* immediately after the Account of the Lodge of Apollo, is a very interesting one. I mention this because, in the *History of the Royal Brunswick Lodge*, No. 296, Sheffield, by Wm. H. Stacey, and Edited by Bro. Jno. F. Moss (published 1893), there is a

statement that the only existing account of the Consecration and Installation is that which appeared in the *Courant* of August 2nd, 1794. This latter account as quoted is a very meagre one, and I am sure that any Brethren interested in Freemasonry in Sheffield, not aware of the longer account, will be glad to know where it can be found.

Brother Carter has referred to the poetical efforts of Bro. James Bisset, and notes another Song by him, which Preston has inserted, as No. XXIX., in his 9th Edition of *Illustrations of Masonry*. Preston no doubt copied this from the *Freemason's Magazine* for December, 1793, where it appeared signed "J. BISSET, Steward of St. Alban's Lodge, and Provincial G.S. for the County of Warwick. BIRMINGHAM, Dec. 23d, 1793." I have not at present traced the first publication of the other Song mentioned by Bro. Carter, as given by Dr. George Oliver in his *Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry*. There is, however, yet another Song by Bro. Bisset, which appeared in the *Freemason's Magazine* for July, 1794 (vol. iii., p. 68). The Song was "Written for the Commemoration of the Birth-day of his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, M.W. Grand Master of Masons." I give the first verse:—

"When first Britannia George had plac'd
With glory on the throne,
And Charlotte Britain's court had grac'd,
One wish remain'd alone;
Great Jove Britannia then address'd,
And fervent was her pray'r,
'O, grant to Wales a royal prince,
'To Britain's throne an heir.'"

We have heard a considerable amount concerning Samuel Porter, but in one respect I can add to this information. Bro. Samuel Porter, like Bro. Bisset, ventured into Poetry, and in the first six volumes of the *Freemason's Magazine* there are three of his poetical efforts. The first appeared in the magazine for July, 1793, and is stated to have been "composed and sung by Brother Samuel Porter (Master of the Lodges of St. John's, No. 492, Henley in Arden, and of the Shakespear, No. 516, Stratford on Avon), at the Dedication of the Shakespear Lodge." There are five verses, set to the tune "Mulberry Tree," the first being:

"On Avon's sweet banks where the silver streams glide,
The beauties in Stratford oft Shakespear would pride,
And say when enraptured by the juice of the vine,
He would there raise a Lodge for his favorite nine.

CHORUS.

To honor now his Country,
Do honor to his Memory,
And toast him round with three-times-three."

The second Song is headed "True Greatness," and appears in the magazine for June, 1794, being signed "SAM. PORTER, P.M. of St. John's Lodge, No. 492. Henley in Arden, Warwickshire, June 7, 1794." It has twenty-eight lines, the first eight being as follows:—

"In Heavenly synod once arose
A wond'rous strong debate,
The Mighty Secret to disclose,
What makes a mortal great?
Mars bluster'd forth, that love of arms
Enrich'd the daring soul;
While Bacchus swore the brightest charms
Flow'd from the sparkling bowl;"

The third Song appeared in the magazine for August, 1794, and is headed, "Masonic Song. By Brother Samuel Porter, P.M. of St. John's Lodge, Henley in Arden, Warwickshire, No. 492." There are four verses, set to the tune "A Rose Tree in full bearing." The first verse runs:—

"Ye free-born sons of Britain's isle
Attend while I the truth impart,
And show that you are in exile
Till science guides you by our art;
Uncultivated paths you tread,
Unlevelled, barren, blindfold be,
Till by a myst'ry you are led
Into the Light of Masonry."

No further poetic efforts of either Brother appeared in the *Freemason's Magazine* after August, 1794, although that magazine continued to be published for a further four years and upwards. There is, however, in the *Freemason's Magazine* for November, 1796, a hymn that is there stated to have been "Sung at the Consecration of St. John's Lodge, Henley in Arden." It comprises four verses, the first two being as follows:—

"Eternal hymns and hallelujahs raise
To God, our great grand Architect above!
And join, ye heav'nly choirs, in songs of praise,
To celebrate with us redeeming love:
He pass'd this gloomy darksome vale of woe,
To raise us from oblivion's grave below.

Divested of his Majesty divine,
The human he put on to guide our way;
Said, 'Freely enter, let your light so shine
As Sol's refulgent beams in perfect day,
And since the mystic Truth to you is clear
His name, who rais'd you ever more revere.'"

Bro. Carter has referred to the Warrant of the Shakespeare Lodge, and states that this and other Warrants do not appear to be temporary documents although they are Provincial Warrants. There is ample evidence that, at that date, and indeed much earlier, Provincial Warrants were as authoritative and permanent as those issued in London by the Grand Lodge. For instance, the Warrant issued to the Lodge, constituted at Norwich, afterwards known as the Shakespeare Lodge, is granted and signed by Sir Edward Astley, as Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk. Bro. Le Strange proves that this Warrant, though issued by the P.G.M., was drawn up in London and sent to Norwich for signature. It was also registered at Grand Lodge in a small MS. Book labelled, "Deputations granted for Provincial Grand Masters, Warrants and Patents." (*Freemasonry in Norfolk*, by H. Le Strange, p. 171-2.)

Bro. Carter, in the course of his paper, made a lengthy digression upon the Masonic doings of Bro. James Sketchley, and referred, with some detail, to the Masonic Tokens issued by that Brother. Going once more to my fountain of information, the *Freemason's Magazine*, I find that in the number for September, 1794, there is a reference to James Sketchley and his Masonic Tokens. The following is a copy of that reference:—

"MASONIC TOKENS."

"In the course of the past month, some copper pieces newly struck from a die which appears to be executed in a stile superior to any of the Provincial coins at present in circulation, came to the hands of the Proprietor of this Magazine. On inspection they appear to be called Masonic Tokens, and to have been invented by a Brother James

Sketchley, of Birmingham, who intended them to serve as pocket-pieces; but, either from the novelty of the idea, or the excellence of the workmanship, it would appear that many persons have been content to receive them in change as Halfpence, in the same manner as the Liverpool, Norwich, Lancaster, Anglesey, Bungay, Macclesfield, Leak, Manchester, Coventry, &c. coins have acquired credit and currency.

The subjoined Engraving exhibits the obverse and reverse of the Masonic Token; and any gentleman desirous of preserving such pieces may receive them in parcels (containing 24) at One Shilling each, by applying at the British Letter Foundry, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London."

An Engraving of the Token is subjoined, as stated in the above quoted paragraph.

It is interesting to observe that the Lodge did not confine itself to the Ceremonies and the Lectures of the three Degrees or Steps. Bro. Carter asks, "What were these steps?" I think it is clearly but another name for the Degrees, and a perusal of any of the so-called Exposures of the eighteenth century will confirm this. The Lectures given in the Lodge upon subjects germane to Masonry show that the Brethren were anxious to be instructed. In this connection it is worthy of note that on several occasions a Lecture was given upon "Mortality" in conjunction, apparently, with the Third Degree. This seems to indicate that, at that date, the Brethren in the Lodge considered that the teachings of that Degree went beyond friendship and fidelity, and included a consideration of the life beyond the grave.

Lastly, there is one small point, in relation to the By-Laws of the Shakespeare Lodge, that is of more than passing interest. In the 1784 Edition of the *Book of Constitutions* it is laid down that:

"At the third stroke of the grand master's hammer, always to be repeated by the grand wardens, there shall be a general silence."

This provision is also to be found in many By-Laws of private Lodges, but I have never before seen any By-Laws which provide for a general silence "on the third stroke of the Master's hammer, which shall be repeated twice by the Senior Warden, and once by the Junior Warden."

Bro. F. G. WELLSTOOD (Stratford-upon-Avon) writes:—

Bro. John Whitmore, son of Mr. German W., of Stratford-upon-Avon, was born in 1749 and educated at the Grammar School here. He was a "jurist" fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, where he matriculated 18 March, 1769, and became B.C.L. in 1796. He became curate of Stratford in 1775, while he was also incumbent of Temple Grafton from that year until 1820. In 1792 he became headmaster of Stratford Grammar School, which position he filled for nine years. In 1807 he married Miss Lucy Greene, the daughter of his old schoolmaster, and retired to Grafton in 1811.

I believe John Whitmore was a member of the Shakespear Lodge, Warwick. I have records that he attended a Lodge at the Green Dragon there on 3 Nov. and 27 Dec., 1802. This must have been the Shakespear Lodge 284, but Lane does not mention the *Green Dragon* as a place of meeting.

James Timmins is described in the Birmingham Directory of 1794 as a manufacturer "of white-metal buttons, tin buckles and tutaneg spoons."

William Izod (initiated St. John's, 1792) was doubtless related to Jonathan Izod, a plumber and glazier of Stratford, a member of the Corporation from 1789-1817, Mayor in 1797/8 and 1810/1, and one of the petitioners for the Warrant for the Shakespeare Lodge of 1793.

William Bolton (initiated Nov., 1792) was landlord of the Shakespeare Inn (now Hotel), Chapel Street, Stratford-on-Avon, of which he became licensee in 1788, and was also one of the two local excise officers. His name appears as one of the petitioners in the Warrant of Shakespeare Lodge, 1793.

Charles Pestell, first S.W. of Shakespeare Lodge, S./A., was a surgeon, and was a member of the Corporation as councillor and alderman from 1784 to 1807, and Mayor in 1789/90. His name also occurs in the Warrant of 1793.

Welcombe Lodge (rebuilt about the middle of the last century) stands on the Welcombe Hills a mile to the north of Stratford-on-Avon. It is now the seat of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., O.M. I have not yet had time to ascertain whether Wm. Hasswell resided there in 1793.

I have a note to the effect that the *Warrant* of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 516 was presented to the Shakespeare Lodge No. 284, Warwick, "many years ago by a Mr. Jones," but I have not been able to identify him or the date of presentation.

Bro. Samuel Porter, "P.M. of St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden No. 492," is mentioned as the author (in *The Freemason's Melody*, Bury, 1818, Song CLXV., p. 202) of a song beginning "Ye Free-born sons of Britain's Isle." This song contains words which imply that Royal Arch Masonry was known and worked by the Lodge, and I believe that *all* Lodges at the end of the eighteenth century considered the R.A. Degree as an essential part of their Ritual, and that no Mason was complete in his Masonic knowledge without being Arched.

On p. 222 (*Freemason's Melody*) Hymn IV. is given as having been "sung at the consecration of St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden." The first line is "Eternal hymns and Hallelujahs raise." This hymn is certainly Masonic, coupled with what may have been Templar Masonry although (apparently) no direct reference is made thereto: or it may be only a Christian Masonic hymn suitable for a public occasion. It ends with the words "If God shall cease to love or Christ to save."

James Sketchley also printed a small pamphlet of 24 pages (a copy of which, probably unique, is before me as I write) entitled

"Masonry. Hymns, Odes, Songs. Written
and compiled for the Masonic Jubilee,
at Shakespear Lodge, Stratford on Avon:
on Tuesday, the 4th of June 1793.
Brother Sketchley's Print, Birmingham.
(Price Six-Pence)."

I hope, some day, to make this pamphlet the subject of a communication to *A.Q.C.* Bro. Carter has forestalled me with the account of the consecration of the Lodge!

There seems to be a little doubt about Bro. Rainey's description (in *A.Q.C.*, vol. x.) of the Inner Guard's sword which belonged to 492, now at Spilsby. I have not seen this, but have a note that the engravings on it (both blade and hilt) are not the Crest and Coat of Arms of Shakespeare, but the hatchment of the G.L. of England (Moderns) prior to the Union of 1813. I may be in error, however, and should welcome correction on this point.

Bro. D'ARCY POWER writes:—

I have read Bro. Carter's paper on St. John's Lodge No. 583 with the greatest pleasure and interest and I am sorry that I cannot be present when he gives it in Lodge.

I think he will find a few additional facts if he looks at the Masonic Directory at the end of vol. iv. of the *Freemason's Magazine* for 1795, *e.g.*, that

Branden Whissell was a Builder at Alcester; William Manley was a stonemason at Bidford; Abel Morrall was a needlemaker at Alcester; William Sarsons, our Tyler in 301 from its consecration to July 28th, 1809, was a staymaker at Alcester; William Taylor was a printer at Alcester, so he does not seem to have joined the Apollo; James Bisset, who wrote the song for the Stratford Dedication, is described as "Miniature Painter & Jeweller, Museum Birmingham." These are all minor points, but Bro. Carter's paper is so complete that I feel sure he will be glad to have these additional sidelights on the occupations of some of the brethren he mentions. I recognise with gratitude his notice of the little paper I wrote on the occasion of the centenary meeting of the Apollo Lodge. It was decided to print, illustrate and bind it without my knowledge. I received it, therefore, many years afterwards as a delightful surprise when it arrived in a most sumptuous form. My only regret was that owing to my disgraceful handwriting it was full of typographical errors which might have been corrected had I been allowed to see a proof.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Although the Minutes show that a Tyler was appointed but no Inner Guard, it is far more probable that the duties of this officer were those of the Inner Guard and that the term had been adopted (without the corresponding outer sentinel) from a higher degree. We know that according to early exposures the youngest E.A. was stationed in the North to keep off cowans, and that while the trowel has survived as the badge of the youngest E.A. in some Lodges, the same implement has survived as the badge of the Inner Guard in other Lodges. It is even possible that the trowel was the original implement used by the Inner Guard in the course of his duties. It is difficult to believe that early operative Lodges were guarded by an officer armed with a sword, and we can only conclude that this custom, like that of appointing deacons, was borrowed from a higher degree.

Bro. W. JENKINSON (Armagh) writes:—

Bro. Carter has indeed made "the dry bones live" in his interesting Notes on St. John's Lodge No. 583, and while unable to offer any direct criticisms on this enjoyable paper, I wish to offer a few remarks regarding some of the matters dealt with, concerning which parallels may be quoted from the records of Masonry in Ireland, to which Constitution the writer belongs.

Sunday Meetings of the Lodge. The practice of Sunday Lodge meetings was common in this Country up to the year 1799, as will be seen from the following:—

"Agreed that Emergency to be Called on Sunday the 19th of June for each Member to pay his Dinner money or a Part thereof; and each Member Duly Summons for the same."

(Min. No. 207, Dublin. 13/6/1768.)

The next Minute is that of the Emergency Meeting, duly held on Sunday, the 19th June, when the Lodge resolved:—

"... wee are to Dine on Monday, the 27th June, 1768 to the Satisfaction of the whole Members, each Member to Pay in one Shilling English towards his Dinner on Sunday y^e 26th in y^e evening . . ."

(*Ibid.* 19/6/1768.)

And again:—

"... a Lodge of Emerg^{nc}. on Sunday Next at 4 of the C^{lk}. was agreed for to be held for to settle the Lodge Accounts."

(*Ibid.* 16/5/1769.)

This meeting was held, as arranged, but no record is given of the "settling of the Lodge Accounts," the only business recorded being:—

" . . . Br. Boddy was Rec^d., past. Ent^d. and Rais^d."

(*Ibid.* 22/5/1769.)

Proceedings such as these called forth the following Regulation of Grand Lodge on the 6th September, 1799:—

"ORDERED—That any Brethren meeting on Sunday nights as a Lodge, be excluded from the Grand Lodge.

Officers. Surely Bro. Carter seems to have stumbled slightly when, under this heading, he refers to the fact that no Deacons appear amongst the officers appointed in 1793, and again, in referring to even the possibility of an esoteric ceremony being performed at the installation of the W.M. St. John's Lodge, he states, was a "*Modern*" Lodge! Need any more be said?

The Lodge closed in due time. It is a pity that the old Lodge By-laws are not extant, for although the same phrase does not occur in any Irish record known to the writer, nevertheless with us it was a common practice to record the *hour* at which the Lodge was closed, and when it is remembered that many of our Lodge By-laws provided that the Lodge should sit during certain hours in Summer, and during others in Winter, it is suggested that the "closing in due time" may have arisen from such regulation.

The Lectures. As early as November, 1763, the Minutes of Lodge No. 207, Dublin, record Lectures "going round," viz., "E.P." (Entered Apprentice), "F.C." and "M.L.," the last being the Master's, or Master Mason's Lecture. These do not appear to have corresponded every time with the Degree conferred, and thus we find a F.C. Lecture going round on the night when an M.M. Degree had been given. On many occasions, however, they do agree with the work carried out on the particular night.

Bros. Lepper and Crosslé, in their *History of the G.L. of Ireland* (vol. i., p. 110), refer to these Lectures, and state:

"they were probably of the nature of a catechism, questions and answers being passed round."

What purports to have been a form of these question and answer Lectures is set out in some of the old exposures, e.g., "Hiram, or The Master Key," from which it would appear that the Master asked a question relating to the ritual of the Degree being then dealt with, and the Brother addressed answered it, but if unable to do so he rose and bowed, whereupon the question passed to the next Brother, who either answered it, or in like manner passed it on.

Bro. Carter is undoubtedly right in his conclusion that a brother of a lower degree would not be permitted to hear the Lecture of a degree higher than his own.

Unlike the practice in St. John's, where the Lectures of more than one Step were given on the same night, I have never found more than one Lecture recorded in any single communication. It is suggested that from the wording of the Minute of St. John's, dated 2nd February, 1793, "a lecture from the Chair," it may reasonably be inferred that the procedure thus recorded was different from that covered by the Irish "a Lecture went round," and that the Brethren of St. John's received from the Master in the Chair an address on the moral teachings of the Three Degrees.

"Step" is quite a common word in Irish Masonry, and is frequently used in old Lodge Minutes when referring to the giving of the various degrees, e.g.:—

"Bro. Edwd. Sullivan was Rec^d. and Took the first Step of Masonry."
(Mins. Lodge No. 207, Dublin. 28/2/1769.)

"Bro. John Garston rec^d. the Second Step and paid 6/10½."
(*Ibid.* 13/8/1764.)

"Bro. Langley received the Third Step in Masonry."
(*Ibid.* 11/3/1765.)

In accordance with ancient custom we Irish Masons still refer to "steps" in various portions of our ceremonies, but these are things "which may not be written."

Visitors. The names, place names and numbers of Lodges to which visiting Brethren belonged are always of very great interest, and provide most valuable evidence as to the working of old Warrants. It is peculiarly noticeable with what care our old Irish Secretaries, even in remote country Lodges, recorded the full particulars of all visiting Brethren, and these are sometimes the only scrap of evidence available in the cases of certain Warrants concerning which the G.L. Rolls are blank.

For instance, the original issue of Warrant No. 40 is not recorded on our Rolls, and not until the summer of this year was a stray reference found in the Minute Book of Lodge No. 207, Dublin, where under date August, 1768, it is recorded that a brother was admitted to that Lodge "on certificate from Lodge No. 40, Kilkenny."

Too great stress cannot be laid on the necessity for a careful tabulation of these records of visiting Brethren appearing on old Lodge Minutes, as at some time they may be invaluable.

Relief to a distressed Brother. The item of relief to Bro. Smith, under date May 4th, 1795, possesses marked resemblance to the following examples of a like means of raising the required assistance for a "poor and necessitous brother":—

"N.B. Agreed by the Body to purchase a throw for a Buckskin for the relief of a Brother of a Down Lodge."
(Mins. Lodge No. 623, Armagh. 4/2/1793.)

"Lodge met in form . . . Thos. Grant a Visitor, when the Body subscribed thirteen Pence each to raffle for said Grant's Loom, and gave him a certificate at same time all done and parted in good Harmony."
(Mins. Hamiltonsbawn Lodge No. 393. 1/9/1790.)

"Lodge met in form . . . when it was agreed that each member should pay One Shilling and One Penny towards Thomas Fergusons Raffle the same to be levied and paid in one sum in the Character of the Body"

(*Ibid.* 2/5/1792.)

Tyler. The free "making" of the Tyler of a Sister Lodge is most interesting, and the first of its kind which has come under the notice of the writer.

The reverse side of the medal is given from the Minutes of an Armagh City Lodge:—

"John Houston Ballotted for and passed the Degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft (he promising to Tyle for this Lodge at 1/1^d. per night to he pays his admission money £2.13.7 and act in every way as a Tyler of any Lodge do to that money be paid."
(Min. Lodge No. 409, Armagh. 7/11/1793.)

In conclusion, may I offer my very sincere and hearty thanks to Brother Carter for this most delightful paper, and at the same time express the hope that many more such interesting Lodge Histories may be presented to the Brethren of Q.C.?

Bro. T. M. CARTER writes as follows, in reply:—

The generous reception of my attempt to present the short and interesting history of this late Eighteenth century Lodge has been very gratifying and stimulating, and I have already received a reward far beyond any merit that I can recognise in my work.

I am grateful to the many brethren who have added interesting details to the already full story; these enhance its value, but raise but few controversial matters calling for reply or refutation.

I am not sure that the W.M. is strictly accurate when he says that the "passing" between the rival Constitutions was "always one way," i.e., from the Antients to the Moderns. There are quite a number of instances of the reverse movement on record, and some of a reversion to the Antients after a period of adherence to the Moderns, e.g., The Royal Gloucester Lodge at Southampton.

Bro. Daynes has added a large amount of interesting information: in connection with his allusion to the "three, two and one" strokes of the gavel, a parallel—wholly unconnected of course—may be quoted from the Torgau Ordinances which directed "The Master shall knock with three blows, the Wardens with two consecutively, and one for announcements at morning, noon and eve, as is the old usage of the land" (Gould. *Concise History*, p. 30).

I am grateful to Bro. Jenkinson for his very appreciative remarks and his interesting comments: he gently reproaches me for even dreaming that a Moderns Lodge may have had Deacons and an Esoteric Installation ceremony in 1793: but then I am conversant with the history of some Early Bristol Lodges, and the presence of deacons and indications of such a ceremony are not unknown in Minutes of an earlier date than that. And our Bristol peculiarities have sometimes been attributed to the close connections that existed between Bristol and the Sister Isle. Are not these things still talked of in Armagh? But, seriously, there are many other records of Deacons being appointed in Moderns Lodges, e.g., The Tyrian, Derby, and Lodges in Chester: and in recounting the practices of a Lodge it is often of more value to state a negative—that such and such practice definitely did not exist,—than to leave the matter open.

I regret that I have in any way inconvenienced Bro. Wellstood by forestalling the story he is preparing for our future delectation, but I am sure there is still plenty of meat left on that bone, and we may yet enjoy his feast.

In the interval since this paper was read, I have not been able to find out much more information about my *dramatis personæ*. Once I thought I might be on the track of Samuel Porter's original home, for in Dixon's *History of Lincolnshire* I came across the early Minute of the Witham Lodge and there on p. 153 we read:—

"A Lecture in the Chair on the three Degrees, the Lodge clos'd in Harmony and due time with all Honours paid to the Grand."

This was 1793—but I thought it might indicate a common tradition with the St. John's of Henley in Arden, and so searched the names of the members of all the Lodges from which the Witham may have sprung—but the covert was blank.

Respecting that phrass, I have no doubt that it was a formal toast proposed to Grand Lodge: the expression "the Grand" is a very common one in Minutes and correspondence of the period.

FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1926.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. John Stokes, P.G.D., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, I.P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, S.W.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. Pickstone, J. F. R. Darbyshire, Maj.-Gen. J. D. McLachlan, P.G.S.B., W. J. Williams, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., Ed. M. Phillips, J. F. Wilson, G. E. W. Bridge, A. Heiron, J. W. Hobbs, Sir A. A. Brooke-Pechell, Wallace Heaton, J. F. Vesey FitzGerald, Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., F. Lace, W. J. Evans, John W. Hall, Geo. Elkington, Max Infeld, Robt. Frew, W. Ridgway, F. J. Asbury, B. Telepneff, C. Grelhier, W. Ivor Grantham, Chas. S. Ayling, Geo. W. Bullamore, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.P., A. P. Salter, G. Trevelyan Lee, G. B. Cotton, Pat. W. Moran, M. Hay, F. R. Betenson, Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, P.A.G.Ch., L. G. Wearing, Chas. J. Lovell, H. Le Forestier, W. T. J. Gunn, J. H. Morton, P. H. Horley, C. F. Sykes, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., L. Sykes, A. E. Gurney, Wm. E. A. Candy, J. F. Greenfield, J. R. Cully, Jun., Geo. C. Williams, E. E. Sharp, Albert D. Bowl, Wm. Lewis, J. F. R. Pratti, John Moar, W. Brinkworth, H. Courtier, W. F. Swan, H. A. Matheson, Edwin J. Evans, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, S. W. Rodgers, and S. C. Keville.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. C. Maile, West Norwood Lodge No. 3598; M. G. Pechell, P.M., Huguenot Lodge No. 2140; C. W. de Roemer, Hartington Lodge No. 916; B. R. Skinner, I.G., Shadwell Clerk Lodge No. 1910; Sydney F. Jones, W.M., FitzWilliam Lodge No. 2533; J. W. Aris, J.D., Whitgift Lodge No. 3617; G. W. Greer, P.Pr.G.W., Lurgan, Ireland; W. R. Makins, P.M., York Lodge No. 236; F. J. H. Coutts, P.M., Parthenon Lodge No. 1826; O. Graham Toler, P.M., Erin Lodge No. 2095 (I.C.); John S. Davies, Mozart Lodge No. 1929; A. S. Ridout, P.M., Yarborough Lodge No. 554; W. Francis and M. Emmerson, Penge Lodge No. 1815; H. Stell, Kentish Lodge No. 3021; A. G. Thynne, Western Gate Lodge No. 48 (B.C.); W. B. Rowe, Edric Lodge No. 4299; G. Pear, Queen Mary's Lodge No. 3327; H. I. Summers, Anglo Colonial Lodge No. 3175; P. J. Sproule, Dis.G.M., E. Archipelago; T. E. Scott, P.A.G.D.C.; and F. W. Richardson, Rose of Denmark Lodge No. 975.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Cumberland & Westmorland, J.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. W. Daynes, I.G.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

GEORGE LAWRENCE SHACKLES

was born at Hull on the 27th May, 1851. In 1876 he was admitted as a solicitor. He was the fifth eldest son in a direct line practising as solicitors, for 153 years, in the same district [known as "The Land of Green Ginger"] in the town of Hull. He held many public appointments, among them being that of Clerk to the Hull City Justices. He died, full of years and honours, on the 4th day of February, 1926.

He was initiated into Freemasonry in the Alexandra Lodge, No. 1511, Hornsea, East Yorks., on the 21st November, 1877, and was Master in 1882; he was re-elected in 1883, and again in 1903,—a very unusual, if not unique, occurrence. He was also a member of the Humber Lodge, No. 57, Hull, and a Founder of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge, No. 2474, of which he was Master in 1896. He was also a member of various other Masonic degrees, as well as a Life Governor of the three great Masonic Charities. He was Prov.G.S.D. of North & East Yorks. in 1882, and Prov. Senior Grand Warden

in 1904. In 1923 he was appointed to Grand Rank as P.A.G.D.C. in the Craft, and P.G.St.B. in the Royal Arch. He joined the Correspondence Circle of the Q.C. in 1887, and was admitted into the Inner Circle in 1897, becoming Master on November 8th, 1905.

Bro. Shackles was well known as a Masonic lecturer and writer, but his best work was done as a collector and writer on Masonic Numismatics. His book on Masonic Medals is authoritative and is of the utmost value to the student in Masonic antiquarian research. In private life Bro. Shackles was a most charming man. The world was better for his presence, and is poorer for his absence.

One Provincial Grand Lodge and Ninety-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. J. ELSTON CAWTHORN.

"THE HISTORY OF MASONRY to which are added, The Mason-Word and Catechism, By Samuel Prichard. [Wood block.] Late Member of a Constituted Lodge. Printed according to Order." This does not appear to be mentioned by Wolfstieg, but apparently the text is the same as a Scottish Pocket Companion 1806. Particulars of another copy were recently sent by a Brother in Tasmania.

WARRANT OF ATHOL LODGE No. 199, issued 1st April 1777 to Thomas Peat, John Flather and Richard Morris for the "Lodge to be held at the Sign of the Cock in the Town of Barnsley or elsewhere in the County of York, at the 1st Monday in the Callander Month." The Warrant is signed by Athol, G.M., Lau, Dermott, D.G.M., Thomas Carter, S.G.W., R. Davy, J.G.W., and attached to it are the seals of the Duke of Athol and the Grand Lodge suspended from Blue and Yellow ribbons. The Lodge is stated to have ceased working about 1778, and a local tradition has it that the Warrant was attached by the Landlord at the Cock because of non-payment of rent. The No. 199 was re-issued in 1804 to a Lodge at Dewsbury, which went out of existence in 1815, and in 1820 was again issued to the present Lodge of Peace No. 149.

By Bro. WALLACE HEATON.

PEEP SHOW. Representing a scene in a French Lodge in the Eighteenth Century.

By Bro. J. RASMUSSEN.

Photograph of a form of CERTIFICATE issued by the Lodge Parfaite Observance No. 1. On it appears the name of "John Willson, Esqrs. deputte maitre."

By the SECRETARY.

The Original PETITION and CONSTITUTION of the French Lodge at the Thirteen Cantons in King Street, St. Anns. This is apparently No. 6 in Bro. Wonnacott's list, though the actual date of Constitution was 5th March, 1755, while Lane gives 14th December, 1754, and he also states that the Lodge was Constituted at the Crown, Seven Dials.

By Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS.

BURIAL CERTIFICATE of Rev. James Anderson. Certified Copy from "A Register Book of Burials formerly kept at Bunhill Fields Burial Ground, City Road." The entry is as follows:—

June	Rev ^d . Mr. Jeams Anderson from	
ye 3	the Strand in a grave	00-13-6
1739		

Photographs of Groups of STATUARY by Roubiliac (Member of Lodge in London in 1730) over the tombs of the Duke of Montagu (G.M. 1721-2) and his Wife, at Warkton Church, Kettering.

By Bro. E. H. CARTRIGHT.

Two FIRING GLASSES.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

Bro. W. WONNACOTT read the following paper:—

THE RITE OF SEVEN DEGREES IN LONDON.

BY BRO. W. WONNACOTT, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M. 2076.



UNDER the ægis of the United Grand Lodge of England we practice only the three degrees of the Craft with the supplemental order of the Holy Royal Arch; all other degrees or grades are excluded as not being "pure and ancient" Masonry. It was not always so, as the purpose of the present paper is to show; certain degrees now looked upon as appendages to the Craft degrees must have had some intrinsic merit or their preservation over a long period of time could not otherwise be accounted for.

This evening we shall take a glance at some of these outside grades which from 1764 or earlier, down to 1790, were in vogue among the Masons under the Grand Lodge of the Moderns and also its schismatic off-shoot, the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent. The ground appears to be untrodden, and by means of our survey the history of certain grades can be pushed back towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

Let me briefly sketch out the ground we propose to study. During the period above-named some of the Lodges in London were attracted by the brilliant ceremonies and high-sounding titles of foreign Masonry. Among them were more particularly the Union Lodge No. 270 and Loge St. George de l'Observance, two of the numerous Lodges in London working in the French language for the benefit of foreigners. Both Lodges were intimately associated with a body practising the higher degrees, a sort of College of Rites, which adopted a series of seven degrees or grades, and appears to have combined the Templar tradition with the various steps of the Ecossais rite, as well as other degrees of a curious but interesting nature.

When William Preston fell foul of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns and was expelled by that body, he and his party, the schismatic Lodge of Antiquity, obtained powers from the Grand Lodge of All England at York and set up the short-lived Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent (1779-1789). Two subordinate Lodges were constituted under this latter body, No. 1 being the Lodge of Perfect Observance, which had a very strong foreign element: with the other Lodge we shall have no occasion to deal.

Having pointed out the extent of our survey there will be no difficulty in showing later that an intimate connection existed between the Craft Lodges named above, on the one hand, and the schismatic Lodge of Parfaite Observance on the other. Both of these groups ran a Chapter of High Grades, such degrees being imported from the Continent, and these bodies played an important part in extending their practice to Ireland, America, Russia, Lower Saxony, probably also to Bristol, even the renowned Dunckerley seeming to be within the sphere of their influence.

The material for the present review is, fortunately, preserved in the archives of our Grand Lodge, in the form of three Minute Books and odd papers, also in prints and engravings, either written or drawn by one Peter Lambert de Lintot, about whom a great deal will have to be said. These books are written in French, execrable French I must say, and are in so cramped a handwriting that, in order to facilitate both reading and reference, it became necessary to

make first a careful transcript, then a translation, and finally a full index, before a complete survey could be made of the history and ritual contained in these works. One of the MS. books is a combined Minute book and a ritual of certain of the higher grades, the journal being in writing of De Lintot, with rare exception. Another is a Minute Book of the Lodge St. George de l'Observance from 1777 to 1781; while a third is a record kept by the Chevalier de Sanseuil when in the chair of the same Lodge. But time and space will not permit me on the present occasion to deal in detail with more than the first of these books, which will be termed hereinafter Book No. 1. The ritual portion of the work is most interesting, but cannot be made public in full; the ceremonies will be merely outlined. Neither do I propose to indicate which degrees, if any, have been handed down to the present day; those who have sufficient knowledge of the higher grades will mark the coincidences and note what fragments have been preserved, without giving away any secrets. The Bristol Brethren may be particularly interested in some things that point to the origins of the Baldwyn Rite, but beyond that it would not be wise to say much.

As before hinted, the propagation of the Rite of Seven Degrees was by Frenchmen in London. These from early times were diligent in the pursuit of the Craft, and a rapid review of their Lodges in London (for none have been discovered elsewhere) may be of some service. All the Lodges in the following list were under the Grand Lodge of Moderns. I can find none of a similar nature among the Antients, although in their individual capacities many Antient Brethren joined the higher grades and worked harmoniously with their Modern colleagues:—

FRENCH LODGES IN LONDON.

1. First of all there was the Lodge at the Solomons Temple¹ in Hemmings Row, which numbered amongst its members both Anderson and Desaguliers.
2. The Lodge No. 20 at the Dolphin in Tower Street,² Seven Dials, constituted 12th June 1723 and erased 25th March 1745. No records of this Lodge exist other than the list of its members given in the Minutes of Grand Lodge. This Lodge was called "the French Lodge" while it was meeting at the Swan in Long Acre from 1730 to 1744, and it was during this period that the membership was composed of French Brethren. An analysis of the names given in the two MS. lists of 1723 and 1725 shows that they were entirely English with one exception, Benj. Deluze, a name that does not appear in the third list of 1731: none of the names mentioned in the first two MS. lists of this Lodge appear in the third. Between the years 1725 and 1731 there was an influx of French Brethren with a sprinkling of English. There was another Lodge meeting at the same time at the Swan in Long Acre, No. 44, which became known as "the English Lodge" at that tavern, and three Brethren were members of both these Lodges, William Read, S.W. in 1731 of the English Lodge, Thomas Hall and Ezekiel Varenne, the last being J.W. in 1731 of the French Lodge.

One name, John Liell or Lyall (probably Lisle) does not appear in the two earlier MS. lists. He visited on 2nd December, 1725, at the Societas Philo-Musicæ et Architecturæ. The entry runs:—

Die Jovis 2^{do}. Decemb^{ris}. 1725.

From the Lodge at the Dolphin in Tower Street as Visitor to this
Right Worshipful & Highly Esteem'd Society, Jn^o. Liell.³

There is another name about which some doubt occurs. In 1740 a Brother Quench or Quinch visited on three occasions at the Grenadiers' Lodge now

¹ Q.C.A. x., 42.

² Lane's *Masonic Records*, p. 43, and Q.C.A. x., pp. 15, 32, and 159.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 23202: Q.C.A. ix., 85.

No. 66. On two of these occasions he is mentioned as of the Lodge of St. John (*i.e.*, unattached), while on the third it is stated he came from the Swan in Long Acre, either the English Lodge there or the French one.

3. The Union French Lodge¹ No. 98 at Prince Eugene's Coffee House in St. Alban's Street, constituted 17th August, 1732, and erased in 1753, the constitution being surrendered. No records are known to exist of this Lodge; the only list of members we are able to refer to is the one dated 17th August, 1732,² which contains thirty names, all French except two. At the time of its removal in 1739 to the Union Coffee House at the upper end of the Haymarket this Lodge became known as "the Union French Lodge." We shall see later that another French Lodge took the name of "Union."

The Master of the Union French Lodge in 1732 was Mr. Lewis Mercy, a member also of No. 75 at the Rainbow Coffee House, being one of six who belonged to the latter and became founders of No. 98, the others being Mr. [John] Coustos, Mr. [Francis] Delahaye, Mr. Vincent La Chapelle, Mr. Lanse, Mr. [Noel] Protin, and Mr. [William] St. Jean. Mercy, Lanse and Protin became the R.W.M. and Wardens respectively of the new Lodge.

Mr. Lewis Mercy is probably the same as Ludovicus or Ludwig Mercy, the writer of the music to the Fellow-Craft's Song in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, and to whom Anderson presented a copy of his work, inscribed with his autograph. This copy is in the Grand Lodge Library, which therefore boasts of two specimens of Anderson's rare handwriting, and it has Mercy's own score of the music written on one of the fly-leaves of the book.

The name of Prince Anthony Esterhazy is not in the list of this Lodge. It is given in a notice in the *Daily Advertiser* of 9th August, 1733, a cutting from which is in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian Library.³

4. The Lodge of St. George de l'Observance No. 148, constituted 16th August, 1736, at the Sun on Fish Street Hill.⁴ This Lodge is more fully dealt with later on, where it is shown that it had an earlier name not recorded in Lane, that of St. George de l'Unanimité, altered in 1777 to that given above. On a future occasion I hope to deal with the Minute Book of this Lodge.
5. The Old French Lodge No. 190, now Unity No. 69,⁵ constituted 13th April, 1742, at the Hoop and Grapes in Greek Street, Soho. If its original membership was French, as must have been the case, we have no record for the Grand Lodge Register only shows an English membership from 1780 onwards.
6. Loge de l'Esperance No. 254, constituted 14th December, 1754, at the Crown, corner of Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials, and died out about 1821, its final erasure being in 1830.⁶ It bore several names during its life of seventy years, such as the French Lodge or Ancient French Lodge, the Cumberland Lodge, Loge des Amis Réunis, and finally Loge de l'Esperance, taking the last title in 1799 on absorbing another Lodge of that name which met at the Thatched House Tavern. Its membership about the year 1770 was both English and French; no less than nine Brethren of the British Lodge now No. 8 joining it in that year. Afterwards it became entirely French, from 1781 onwards, and its Minutes were written in the French language. Fortunately these records are preserved in the muniment

¹ Lane, p. 59

³ A.Q.C. xi., 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

² Q.C.A. x., 192.

⁴ Lane, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

room at Grand Lodge. Several members of St. George de l'Observance joined this Lodge, no note of the dates being entered in the Grand Lodge Register.

7. French Lodge No. 331, constituted 29th January, 1765, at the Old Bell Savage in Ludgate Hill.¹ Lane shows that in 1775 it was struck off the list, but before this event we find recorded in the Minutes of the Committee of Charity an episode in its history, which shows that the Warrant of No. 331 was illegally disposed of to another body of Masons, as thus explained:—

1766 April 2nd.—A Memorial was presented by the late Mast^r. of the Old Bell Savage in Bell Savage Yard Ludgate Hill setting forth that the Constitution of that Lodge had been illegally sold & the [²] disposed of & praying for Redress. The complainants being heard & also the Respond^{ts}. and it appearing that the latter who were Foreigners and not thoroughly acquainted with our Laws and Constitutions Had made (as they apprehended) a fair Purchase thereof, and Had paid a valuable consideration for the same and did under that Constitution Hold a regular Lodge at the Fountain on Ludgate Hill. It was determined under these circumstances that in Equity They had a right to the Constitution and that they should be permitted to hold their Lodge under it, But that for the Future the sale of A Constitution should on no account be held valid but should immediately thereon be considered as Forfeited.

The party that purchased this warrant was Peter Lambert de Lintot and his friends, of whom we shall hear further; the Lodge took the name of "Union,"³ and some written records exist in the Library of Grand Lodge, which I propose to deal with more fully. It appears that a chapter of the higher grades was connected with this Lodge, which later became Perfect Observance No. 1 of the Schismatic Grand Lodge of All England South of the River Trent, and still later it was attached to St. George de l'Observance. There are no names recorded in the Grand Lodge Register.

8. L'Immortalité de l'Ordre No. 376, constituted in 1766 at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand and erased in 1775.⁴ This was the Lodge to which the notorious Chevalier d'Eon belonged, being its Junior Warden in 1771. This Lodge has been fully dealt with in a previous paper (*A.Q.C.* xxxiv., 132), and there is nothing at present known to be added to that record, neither can any connection be traced between No. 376 and the other French Lodges existing at the time.
9. In 1768 a French Lodge was constituted as No. 434 at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street, Soho, and took the name of L'Esperance. In 1785 it moved from Soho and settled down at the Thatched House Tavern until 1799, when it joined with Loge des Amis Réunis (No. 6 *supra*), remaining at that tavern, and in 1810 shifted to Freemasons' Tavern.⁵ On the amalgamation of the two Lodges only five names can be traced as joining from No. 434 on the transfer.
10. Another French Lodge was constituted in 1774 as No. 464 at the Three Old Tongues in Pearl Street, Spitalfields, known as Loge Parfaite Egalité Lyonesse. It had but a short life, being erased in 1780.⁶ No list of its members exists; it had been struck off before the present register began.

¹ Lane, p. 138.

³ Not recorded in Lane.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 164.

² Blank in the record.

⁴ Lane, p. 149.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 190.

11. No. 475, known as the Loge des Amis Reunis, was constituted in 1774 and erased in 1777.¹ Its meeting place was the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street. Again there is no list of its members to refer to in the Grand Lodge Register.
12. The Loge de l'Egalité was erected in 1785 as No. 469 at the Coach and Horses in Frith Street, Soho, and in 1793 became merged in the Ancient French Lodge No. 110 (No. 6 in the list *supra*). The Warrant² was granted 6th April, 1785, to J. B. Hardivillier, first Master, Charles Fremin and John Barbot, Wardens; and Peter Desor, all of the Ancient French Lodge, and to Peter Flacdou, John Hatton, John B. Riguier, and Thomas Colossi, the last named belonging to St. George de l'Observance, as well as Desor previously named, to meet on the second Monday in each month. There are but fifteen names in the register of this Lodge.

LAMBERT DE LINTOT.

The central figure among the French Lodges working in London during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century was Peter Lambert de Lintot. He is the P. Lambert who produced the well known prints which are exhibited this evening. From an entry to be given presently, in his own Minute Book, he describes himself as "Peter Lambert de Lintot et de Cavirol—Ancien Maitre de la Loge de Perfection des observant des 7 degres," with the date 1766 attached. His former military rank is also shown and indicates that he hailed from Normandy, but in what year he crossed to England must remain unknown. His age in 1783 is given as 57 years, so that his birth may be fixed as 1726—and in another place he informs us he was made a Mason in France in 1745, when he could have been only nineteen or twenty years old. He was first attached to the Lodge of St. George de l'Observance, joining it on the 20th January, 1779, becoming its S.W. and then Master for five years successively. Then he became Master of Perfect Observance No. 1 South of the Trent, and was the principal mover in promoting the higher grades in London. At various dates in the records to be quoted hereafter he is variously described as Administrator, Grand Conservator, Grand Administrator General, Deputy Grand Master K.D.S., and Grand Maitre particulier des Chevaliers Kados. The system of high grades which he promoted seems to have been chiefly chivalric; the Templar series were combined with the Kadosh, and about 1790, when Dunckerley first appears as chief of the Templars in England, a severance between them appears to have taken place. In passing, I may quote the title of the Templar body presided over by Dunckerley, as given in his first printed Statutes of 1791:—

STATUTES of the | Royal, Exalted, Religious, | and | Military
Order of H.R.D.M. | Grand Elected | Masonic Knights Templars |
K.D.S.H. | of | St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, | Rhodes, &c. |

De Lintot probably had some artistic talent, for some of the engraved prints I have to show are clearly his production. A curious document in his handwriting to be quoted later also confirms the statement that as an admirer of the Cumberland Free Masons' School (now the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls) he produced one plate for that Charity: in another is to be found a dedication to Ruspini, the founder of the Institution; and a third is dedicated to the Duchess of Cumberland, the Royal Patroness of the Institution.

There are also preserved in the Grand Lodge Library some sketches of his, while the plate which formed the frontispiece of the Constitutions of the Lodge No. 1, Perfect Observance, Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, must be attributed to his hand, for in it he employed so many

¹ Lane, p. 193.

² Warrant Book in Grand Lodge Library.

emblems that occur in his other plates that the authorship seems to be clearly fixed. Some of the mottoes and phrases on these plates are to be found in several of the documents of which transcripts are given in the course of my paper. In all of these documents and engraved plates are to be found references to the body under De Lintot's leadership, which he usually termed "the Metropolitan College D'Ecosse d'Heredon des 7 et Derniers Degrés," or some variant of that title.

I now give the transcript of the document previously referred to, in which De Lintot refers to his former print called "the Bonfire before the Ruins of H.R.D.M. Castle," dedicated to the Chevalier Ruspini. On this document is an impression of still another plate, round the margin of which run the words: "1314. Lodge of St. George de l'Observance No. 53, Chp^r. of All Degrees of "Masonry, VII^o," while on a scroll are "Dieu le Veut. LXXXI. of "Perfection—Will of God." I give this transcript in De Lintot's English:—

To the Trustees, Committee, Governors, Subscribers and Contributors of the Royal Cumberland Masons Charity School under the Patronage of Her Royal Highness the Dutchess of Cumberland for the purpose of Bringing up and educating female children of Poor Masons.

Brother Lambert De Lintot Past Master of the Lodge of St. George de l'Observance No. 53 and Past Master of all ancient and Modern Lodges and Chapters of all Degrees of Masonry in the World having been a free Mason these 45 years past¹ Author of the Masonic emblematical print, presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland G.M.

Having been engaged by a number of the Suscribers to compose & engrave the emblematic epocha of the institution of that School in order to constate to the time to come the date thereof and the spirit of charity of the founders; he has composed after the stone of the ancient Masons, the Bonfire before the ruins of Heredom Castle, a subject allegorical to the Joy which the Poor Brethren are naturally supposed to enjoy at the thought of the benefit which their Children are to reap from so noble an institution: the Print having been approved in a Committee was accordingly dedicated to the said Benefactors in general.

But as that Print had no companion, he has been engaged to make one suitable to the subject, which might represent the epocha of the foundation of the order, with the explanation of the Degree of Master, which in seven years of admission and constant work cannot they say be acquired by any member on account of the respect which the Worshipfull Grand Masters of all Europe pay to these Mysteries which they never impart but to a very few Brothers; whence it happens that the Masters of Subaltern Lodges not being able to communicate it to their new admitted Brothers who find themselves embezzled by the recital of an inconceivable fable, quit their Lodges without rightly knowing why. Brother Lambert De Lintot having received full Power of all the Worshipful grand Masters watsoever to make and to bring to perfection Masons all over the Surface of the Earth up to the 7th and 9th Heaven would think himself Guilty of having incurred the displeasure of the order in general if he did not answer such a desire, whereby a great number of Simbolic Lodges might be deprived of the knowledge of that true and fix light which formerly proved to our predecessors in the foundation of those secret Mysteries which have been reserved by all the truly honest People of all Nations.

¹ Confirming the previous reference to his being made in 1745.

Therefore Brother Lambert de Lintot has composed after the hieroglyphics of the ancient Masons engraved upon the Stone of the said ancient Masons now in the possession of his own Lodge, his seven Grades in the year of the World 4037, of the foundation of the order upon the reality of the facts which have occasioned the Royal institution in Palestine where the history of the symbolic Master is circumscribed so naturally and in such a manner that a Member must be badly organized indeed when he is not able to understand what reason requires that it should be kept a secret for the Profane.

The Symbolic Title is

I am the Light of Wisdom Who support the Philosophical Masonic Stone.

In the *Freemasons' Magazine* for June 8th, 1861, p. 449, an enquiry was inserted about De Lintot, which produced a lengthy reply in which a quotation was made from a circular, "Inventory of MSS. drawings and jewels &c. belonging 'to the late Bro. Peter Lambert de Lintot.'" The list is too long to repeat here.¹ There is one item in it which is worth attention, "A small mother of 'pearl square, set with stones,'" and is in all probability the one in the Museum of Grand Lodge, which hitherto I have been unable to explain.

Now I come to Dunckerley's seal. In view of the title quoted from his Statutes of 1791, it is interesting to note that the symbols there shown all occur in De Lintot's system. A cryptic explanation of this seal was published in Dunckerley's life time in two sheets, which have to be superposed in order to read the contents, the deficiencies in one being supplied by the other. As a specimen I give a few lines from this leaflet:—

[Sheet No. 1.]

Explanation of
The . . der with . . steps, . . rounds
. seven degrees
Mas ; The Letter . . at the
foot of der imply
Mas N at the
. . . Ne Ultra Science.

[Sheet No. 2.]

. the Seal.
. . . lad . . seven . . or
alludes to the of
. . . onry M
. . . . the lad
. . . onry. The letter top
the Plus of the

There is no evidence that Dunckerley and De Lintot ever came in contact; from what has been shown already the inspiration of Dunckerley's Seal of the Knights Templar Kadosh was undoubtedly the Frenchman's system of High Grades. As another instance of borrowing from the same we may cite the engraved headings of Dunckerley's Templar certificates, which were without any possible doubt altered plates of De Lintot's. The square margin enclosing the composition has had an erasure all round, while the circle within the square has had a similar erasure in two places. Careful scrutiny of these altered plates has revealed the following words:—

On the outer square margin there were the words:

[Top] Constitutions du Colege d'Ecosse de Kilwinning 1785 London.
[Bottom] Ordre d'Ecosse Tenu en François En Faveur Des Etrangers.

On the circle:

[Left] Herdom.
[Right] (K)ilwinning.

An illustration of such a heading is to be found in Osborn's *Freemasonry in West Cornwall*, p. 176.

¹ It has already been printed in *A.Q.C.* xxvi., 117.

The whole conception of these Templar headings is so characteristic of De Lintot's other productions with its mis-spellings, the ladder of seven steps, the Kilwinning claim to ancestry, and so on, that one may, without fear of contradiction, say that in 1791 Dunckerley borrowed or used the De Lintot plate of 1785, which the latter prepared for his College of Seven Degrees in London, working in the French language for the foreigners there.

THE RITE OF SEVEN DEGREES.

What was this Rite of Seven Degrees, and where did it originate? From the documents now published we learn that the following grades were worked either in the Union Lodge, St. George de l'Observance, Perfect Observance No. 1, or the Metropolitan Chapter, College or Council of the Seven and last Degrees:—

The Apprenti, Compagnon and Maitre of the Craft.

The fourth is mentioned as Elu, but there were also the grades (not numbered) of:

Architecte.

Prevots et juge.

Grand Architecte.

Companion de l'arche royal.

Grand Elu.

Sublime maitre.

Parfait ecossois.

The fifth is named Chevalier d'orient et d'occident, in which crossing the bridge plays a principal part in the ceremony.

The sixth, Chevalier de l'aigle, pelican, Rose Croix de St. André d'heredom triple croix, or Chevalier Roze Croix.

Seventh and last came the K.D.S.H.

In one place the Royal Arch is termed the fifth. There are also referred to the Petit Elu Inconnu, Chevalier du Soleil, Chevalier de l'Epee ou de l'Orient, Grand Commandeur de l'Orient, and others. These are merely referred to, they may be variants in name only of other grades given above.

The origin of this system was in all probability the Chapter of Clermont (1754), a chapter of high degrees formed by the Chevalier de Bonneville, who built for it a habitation in one of the northern suburbs of Paris.¹ We know very little of this body except that upon the three orthodox degrees it built, 4th Ecossois, 5th Knight of the Eagle, 6th Illustrious Knight or Templar, and 7th the Sublime Illustrious Knight.

There also existed from 1756 to 1767 the Knights of the East, "Sovereign Princes of Masonry," a rival of the Chapter of Clermont and contending for the direction of the Councils of the Grand Loge de France, where a powerful high-grade influence seems always to have been at work. I can only draw attention in passing to the Statutes of the G.L. of France in 1755, which provide for the status and privileges of the Scots Masters.² The Knights of the East took to themselves the power to work the first six degrees and confer them on a Master Mason in places where no Lodge [of high grades] existed.

The intense rivalry of the Clermont Chapter and Knights of the East led to a compromise and to the formation of the body called Emperors of the East and West in 1758, probably a continuation of or development of the Chapter of Clermont, and designed to outbid the former bodies both in the number of grades conferred, the brilliancy of the ceremonies and in high-sounding titles. It

¹ Now the Faubourg Poissonnière. Thory, *Acta Latomorum* I., 1815, and Lalande, *Encyclopédie* iv. (1773).

² Gould, *History* iii., 144; also iii., 95.

became the "Council of the Emperors of the East and West, Sovereign Prince "Masons, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Surveillants and Officers "of the Grand Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem," with the title "Heredom of Perfection" added. In 1767 this body secured ascendancy in the G. Loge de France, but by Royal order the latter closed down till late in 1771. On resuming its labours in 1772 the Duc de Chartres became G.M. of the Emperors, and also of the G.L. des Maitres de l'Orient. Both fused into a National G. Lodge for about a year, which then became the G. Orient of France, continuing down to the Revolution. It will be noted that the Duc de Chartres is mentioned as D.G. Master in De Lintot's list.

From documents preserved in the archives of the G. Lodge of Ireland there appear to have been seven grades in all, each of the additional or higher grades being sub-divided into three, and as there is ample proof that the Irish Brethren obtained their instruction from the London College of High Grades let me set out here the sub-division as recited in a MS. ritual¹ owned now by the G. Lodge of Ireland.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| First. | The three craft grades. |
| Second. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Petit Elu.
 Inconnu [or Elu Inconnu].
 Elu de Quinze. </div> </div> |
| Third. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Architecte.
 Prevôt et Juge.
 Grand Architecte. </div> </div> |
| Fourth. | Royal Arch. |
| Fifth. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Knight of the East.
 Grand Commander.
 Prince of Jerusalem. </div> </div> |
| Sixth. | Knight of the Eagle Rose Croix. |
| Seventh. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Knights of the East and West.
 Knights of the Triple Croix.
 Knights of Palestine.
 Templars.
 Knight of the Sun.
 The Physical Philosophical and Moral College of
 Heredom called Kadosh; otherwise Knight of the
 Black Eagle. </div> </div> |

On comparing this with the list given above of those high grades worked in the Metropolitan College of Observance we see resemblances between the two systems. Undoubtedly additions or re-arrangements were made at intervals, and evidence of alteration is to be found in the title of the Rose Croix as given in one of De Lintot's MS. rituals, to be dealt with later on.

We now come to the MS. Minute Book, which for the purpose of this paper I designate Book No. 1.

On the inside cover of No. 1 Book is written this list of the officers of the Order:—

1764. Former Masters of the Lodge of Perfection of Observance of the Seven Degrees.

The Prince of Clermont G.M.

The Duke of Chartres D.G.M. at present sole G.M. of all the Lodges of Grand Elus in France.

¹ For which, and other particulars on the Dublin working, I am indebted to Bro. J. H. Lepper, P.M., who went to very great trouble in furnishing me with copies.

The Chevalier Macmahon, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, commanding the Volunteer Grenadiers of Normandy.

The Baron de Bissy, Marquis de Montalde.

The Marquis Berville, Lieutenant General of the armies in Normandy, Grand Croix.

De Palfroy, Advocate of the Grand Council.

1766. P. Lambert de Lintot and de Cavirol First Lieutenant of Volunteer Grenadiers of Normandy.

P. de Marsollet, negotiant, of the [East] Indies.

Gosselin, Captain of the war vessel "le lowendhall."

Guerald, president of the baliage of Rouen.

Paufrait.

Both the date and the title are worthy of notice.

"Observance of the Seven Degrees" seems to have set a fashion in Masonry, so far as the outside degrees were concerned, for we shall hear more of St. George de l'Observance, the Metropolitan Lodge of Observance and of Perfect Observance. When the early K.T. encampments were set up under Dunckerley the first one he warranted for London was named "Observance of the Seven Degrees," while the Baldwyn Camp, which in 1791 put Dunckerley in the position of Grand Master of the Templar Order (and later came in under the Grand Conclave) was called the Eminent of Seven Degrees when enrolled under the Grand Conclave. There were also three Encampments under Dunckerley called Harmony of the Seven Degrees, Science of the Seven Degrees, both at Salisbury; and Royal Edward of the Seven Degrees at Hampton Court. The three were off the roll in 1809.

Observance of the Seven Degrees must, I think, be the Templar branch of the body we have now under consideration; before 1791 the Preston schism had ended and the Lodge of Perfect Observance, where the High Grades had been practised, had gone out of existence. The Lodge of St. George de l'Observance continued to promote the additional degrees, and in all probability the Templar grades of these Lodges went under Dunckerley's regime as the first Encampment he constituted under his Grand Conclave.

It will be remarked, among the list of names given for the year 1764, the Prince of Clermont¹ was Grand Master, with the Duc de Chartres as his Deputy; Macmahon may at this stage be passed over except to note that he was in command of a corps which included the prominent character named lower down the list, Lambert de Lintot, and about whom the records now under our consideration reveal a great deal. Originally an officer of volunteers under Macmahon, he seems to have blossomed out as an engraver and designer while residing in England. Some of his prints are dated; some bear the name of P. Lambert R.A. Rouen; and some have his residence stated. We learn that while he was Master of No. 53, St. George de l'Observance, he lived at No. 5, Cobham Row, Cold Bath Fields, but at the time he joined the Lodge in 1779 he was residing at No. 5, Coy's Gardens, off Tottenham Court Road, with two other members of his Lodge, one of them being Nicholas Joseph Gregoire, his S.Warden, described in the Grand Lodge Register as an artist. To his (Gregoire's) hand may be attributed some of the alterations to the engraved plates. The suggestion has been made with some measure of probability that De Lintot brought the plates with him from France and made alterations, or had them made, as occasion demanded. This cannot be said of the two small oval engravings, which are unaltered, and were produced, one as a tribute to Ruspini as founder of the Girls School (dated 1789), and the other, the Foundation of the Royal Order as its companion in the same year.

¹ Grand Master of French Masonry, 1743-1770.

[Title page.]

Book of the
Deliberations
of the Councils and Chapters held
by the
Princes; Chevaliers; &
Perfect Free Masons, under the
title of The Eagle Rose-Croix &c &c &c
and Chevaliers K — — — of the Observance members of the
Lodge of Union No 270 under the Constitution of the very high
and puissant Prince, the Duke of Beaufort Grand Master; at
present at the Horn Tavern Doctors Commons London, the year
1772.

Lodge No. 270 was originally at the Old Bell Savage and was No. 331, of the date 29 January 1765. It went to the Horn in 1769 when its warrant was illegally bought by some foreign Brethren, as related in another part of the paper.

[Page 2.]

Anno Domini 1772. Lord Blaney. G.M.

List of the present Grand Officers.¹

Pierre Gaiquevaudoux English Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master of the high grades.

Pierre Lambert de Lintot	D.G.M.	K.
De la Fons.	G.C. & G.P.S.	K.
Durand	G.S.S.	
Edw ^d . Taylor Jun ^r .	G.S.	
Pierre Krafft	G.T.	
C. Lenoble	G.I.T.	
A. Parent	G.O.	

Deputy Grand Officers.

Jacob Lienhard	G.P.S.	
Antoine Brucquier	G.S.S.	
Jean Antoine Giraud	G.S.	K.
Charles Colin	G.T.	
Jean Cramer	G.I.T.	
Jacques Auroux.	G.O.	

The year of our Lord the 11 March 1772 the said officers have been proclaimed in the usual manner on the mountain of Heredom by the Baron de Bissy Marquis de Montalde, Deputy Grand Master; and Jean Baptiste Bertrand Grand Conservator
Lambert de Lintot.

Before leaving this list let me add some explanatory remarks. Gaiquevaudoux, the G.M. for 1772, came two years later before the Committee of Charity; his petition for relief was recommended (22 April 1774) to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns for the sum of £20. This was granted, and he then disappeared from the scene. His name also appears as Gaiquevaudroux, and in the Account Book of the Grand Treasurer as Gaiquevaudeux. As he is described in the list as English Grand Master, so he signs an early Minute as "Maitre Anglois."

Against the names of the G.M., Dep.G.M., and Giraud the G. Secretaire Adjoint, appears the letter K. denoting the grade of Kadosh. Four others have the device of a skull and cross bones against their names, viz., Durand, Parent,

¹ Written in a small hand between the lines are the words: "Elected for the Chapter of the 7 degrees the 11 March 1772." The 11th of March was a significant date in the higher orders.

Jean Cramer, and Auroux, pointing out their Templar rank; while one, Brucquier, has a cross of eight points.

The various initials of the offices may be thus explained:—G.C. is Grand Conservator; G.P.S. for Grand Premier Surveillant, or G. Senior Warden; G.S.S. for Grand Junior Warden; G.S. and G.T. are obviously Secretary and Treasurer; G.O. is Grand Orator; while G.I.T. cannot be identified.

It will be noticed that the Deputies hold similar offices; they really were Adjoint or Assistant Grand Officers, and in the French Lodges it was quite customary to appoint such assistant officers to act in the absence of the other dignitaries.

The Deputy Grand Master who proclaimed the officers of 1772, the Baron de Bissy, described now as Deputy Grand Master of the Order, was another who petitioned for relief from the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. In February of 1784 the Minutes of the Committee of Charity reveal that [General] Stephano, Baron de Bissy received the sum of Five pounds. In April, 1804, he again petitioned, when the recommendation was found to be not regular and was deferred, and in November of the same year it was rejected.

Jean Baptiste Bertrand, the G. Conservator of 1772, signs as G. Master in 1774 though really Deputy G.M. at the time. In March of 1775 he was sworn for the third time in that office, when he is described as "Commissaire for His Most Christian Majesty." In 1780 we find him as Secretary of the Seventh Degree, and we learn that he translated the Request to the Grand Lodge of All England at York for a Constitution for the G.L. England South of the River Trent.

John Cramer was a member of Antiquity No. 1, which he joined in September, 1789, after the Preston schism. In 1772 he was admitted to the Rose Croix under De Lintot, but, refusing to pay his fees, was erased. He is described as a musical instrument maker, of Dacre Street, Westminster.

[Page 3.]

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1772. At the East of the Universe and in a most holy place of the Metropolitan Lodge, by the numbers 77, to wit 70 years of the captivity and 7 of our grades which have brought to us Liberty, and 81.

Health.

The year of our Lord the 8th March 1772 at high noon, the Wise and Sovereign Council and Chapter of the Knights of the Eagle Rose Croix assembled in our name and under our authority and full powers, has received into the last grades and perfect point of masonry, the very excellent and perfect brothers undersigned, members of the Lodge of Union in London, to enjoy now and always the titles and prerogatives of Prince Free Masons over the whole surface of the earth wherever there may be brothers with power to convoke lodges, to take the chair in lodges regularly assembled, to make masons up to the sixth grade termed the Knight of the Sword or the East, without need of any further authority than this our patent, reserving to ourselves the sole grade of Eagle Rose Croix to which we have powers to constitute.

[Signed] Jean Antoine Giraud.

Jean Cramer.

Antoine Bruquier.

Jacques Auroux.

Jacob Lienhard.

Charles Colin.

Pierre Krafft.

Lambert de Lintot

D.G.M. of the 7 Degrees, K D H S.

Done in our sovereign Council and Chapter held the year and day above written, in testimony of which we have signed these presents.

[Signed] P. Gaiquevaudoux, maitre anglois.
P. Lambert de Lintot D.G.M. of the 7 Grades.
S.W. James Delafons. G.S.W.
J.W. Jean Jaque Durand.
Alexis Parent.
Casimire Lenoble.
Edw^d. Taylor Jun^r.

Here we have a body of Craft Masons from the Lodge of Union No. 270 admitted to the grade of Rose Croix. The names of Auroux and Cramer are both erased with the pen and marked "incapacité," while a note is added to the name of Cramer, "he publicly announced in all the taverns that he f.t.r. of me because he knew the Rose Croix and that he had set up a lodge himself." The initials f.t.r. are mysterious, and, representing a phrase in French, do not convey clearly the wrong that De Lintot felt at his conduct. The names of three of the witnesses, viz., Durand, Parent, and Lenoble are also marked "incapacité."

There is no list of members of No. 270 in the Grand Lodge Register; the Lodge took the name of Union after the illegal purchase of the warrant in 1766, and appears to have become Perfect Observance No. 1 of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, and later still merged itself in St. George de l'Observance shortly before the final erasure of the latter.

[Page 4 verso.] ¹

The year of our Lord the 28th May 1773 the Metropolitan Ecossais Lodge has received the venerable B^r. Jacques Josue Enouf, to pass the Ecossais grades at the next lodge.
(Baudun signs this as M. Wise.)

Now comes an entry of the greatest importance on account of the reference to Stuart Masonry, and the displacement of Charles Edward by the Duke of Cumberland as G. Master of the High Grades in 1774, although the Duke did not become G. Master of the Craft until 1782. An erasure with the knife has been made in two places:—

The year of our Lord the 19 June 1774 at high noon The Wise and Sovereign Chapter of the Knights of the Eagle Rose Croix assembled have decided to recognise His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, initiated the 9 February 1767, for Grand Master, Grand Commander, Conservator, Guardian of the Pact and Sacred Vow of the Christian Princes, in the place of Charles Edward [erasure here] at present [erasure] for the reasons alleged in the present Chapter, and particularly that they will give no recognition to any constitution in the name of the said Charles Edward, in the three kingdoms of Great Britain, as contrary to our present deliberation and to the vows we make and shall make all our lives for the prosperity of the House of Brunswick, that it will be so represented at the most convenient time to the said Duke of Cumberland, and that at each Chapter he will be saluted as such. Glory to God and to His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland for having Knights of the Eagle Rose Croix. This was deliberated the said day and year above written, by the numbers 70.

P. Lambert de Lintot.

The year of our Lord the 19 June 1774 at high noon the Wise and Sovereign Council and Chapter of Knights of the Eagle Rose Croix,

¹ The pagination is not given after this in my paper.—W.W.

assembled in our name and under our authority and full power has received into the last grade and perfect point of masonry the very excellent and perfect brothers undersigned, members of our Lodge of Union, Horn Tavern in London, in the list of lodges No. 270, to enjoy now and always the titles and prerogatives of Prince Free Masons over the whole surface of the earth wherever there shall be brothers with power to convoke lodges, take the chair in lodges regularly assembled, to make masons up to the sixth grade called Knight of the Sword or of the East, for three years from this day

[Signed] Benoit Mayer. Eq. and has sworn the Statutes for the brothers John Yelaguin and Lucain [Louquin.]

Done in the Sovereign Council and Chapter holden the said year and day [above written] in testimony of which we have signed these presents.

Pierre Lambert de Lintot

Administrator.

Jⁿ. Bt. Bertrand.

G.M.

J. Et. Giraud. G.Gardien des Archives

Charles Colin.

Jacob Lienhardt.

In the passage just given the reference to Yelaguin and Louquin needs no explanation, as very soon their names occur again. Only one member of Union Lodge signs on this occasion; the text gives the plural and seems to imply that Yelaguin and Louquin as well as Mayer were members of the Lodge. To Mayer's signature is attached the cross of eight points.

The 3rd October, 1774, Nicholas François de la Haye and Charles Carré were similarly received. De Lintot carefully notes here some small sums due to him from the Master:—

Owes me for the balance of his cordon	1 ^l . —
For two engraved plates	12. 1.
Out of pocket for letter par le peny post	1. 3.

On the next day, 4th October, Pierre Reine and J. B. Durant were admitted to the three steps of the Craft, Bertrand being in the chair and Benoit Mayer as Senior Warden, at the house of Bro. Durant in Rathbone Place. The two candidates were admitted gratis, the probable reason being that one was landlord and the other waiter at a tavern. Durand was relieved in 1784 by the Committee of Charity, a second petition in December, 1785, being rejected. Reine was admitted Grand Ecossais in October, 1776, it being arranged at that meeting that he should not pass beyond the grade of Royal Arch.

On the 7th October James de la Fons was proclaimed Grand Conservator in the usual manner "upon the mountain [of Heredom]," following the term of office by Bertrand.

On the 10th October, the fourth meeting in that month, Conrad Widall was received into the grade of Petit Elû inconnu and paid alms of one pound into the hands of De la Fons. Yves, Meridee, and Conan were received members (joined). Also Jean Baptist Rozé was received a member and was given a patent as Deputy G. Master for St. Brieux, as mentioned in his diploma.

On March 12th, 1775, the brothers His Excellency the Prince Yelaguin, and Louquin (here spelt Lukin) Grand Master of the Lodges of Russia, Louquin in person and Yelaguin by his proxy Bro. Baxter, Consul for Russia, were received members and constituted Deputy G. Masters of the Lodges of Russia at St. Petersburg, as detailed in their diplomas. The same day Pierre François

Maurice De Court de Sorlut, Esquire, &c., &c., &c., was constituted Deputy Grand Master and received his brevet from the Lodge for America K . . .¹

Daniel Godefroy Hintze, a Breton, was constituted Grand Master of the six grades of the Royal Art, on 21st May, 1775, and was received into the K. or 7th degree in July, 1777. The whole of this entry has been erased with a pen, the word "Abiram" written large over his name, signifying he had turned traitor to the cause, or, as De Lintot terms him, "infame."

August Frederic Baron de Linckensdorf, an officer of the Hessian Troop (in British service) from "Lutvigspourg," in Wurtemberg in Germany, received the grade of Eagle Rose Croix on 18th August, 1777.

Eight candidates were received, on 12th October, 1776, into the grade of Grand Ecossois; four of them were members of St. George de l'Observance, Jean François Presurat [Prussorot], Claude François Le Grand, Emery Casimir Meurcent [known as Casimir], and Pierre Bonnet; these are in the Register of Grand Lodge. Also Jacques Vine, Isaac Arcolat, Louis Vigne Verel, and Pierre Reine. The names of Prussurrot and Vine are erased and "Abiram" written over them, while that of Arcolat is only erased.

Now comes a batch of admissions from the Lodge St. George de l'Observance which is described in the following extract. No names are given, but all the officers of the Lodge were admitted, and the various grades named in detail:—

The year of our Lord the 12th March 1777 have been by instruction, in order to receive the sacred words, in Grand Lodge admitted, and received to the grade of Knights of the Eagle Rose Croix the under named, after their request in due form, and after having passed the grades of Elu, Architecte, Grand Architecte, Companions of the Royal Arch, Grand Elu, Sublime maitre parfait Ecossois, Knights of the East and West, Commanders, Grand Commanders and Prince of Jerusalem, all the officers of the symbolic lodge at the Globe, Titchfield Street, ancient lodge No. 68, with the exception of Pierre Reine, gratis for the instruction and good of the lodge.

Lambert de Lintot,
Grand Administrator.

Brothers Martin Bernharde, Hausman, member of the symbolic Lodge of the Cedar; Theodore de Bruyn, member of the Lodge No. 68; William Germoli, and François Cherich, were similarly received into the series of grades above-named, on the 4th May, 1778. De Bruyn, a painter or artist, of Castle Street, Oxford Street, was made in St. George de l'Observance in December, 1777. On the occasion of his admission to the high grades it was arranged he should pay only two guineas to the symbolic Lodge and that he should be received into the seventh and last degree for having painted the "tableau Ecossois." There is a mention in another place that, in addition to this work, he also painted four tableaux for the Lodge.

Page 7 verso gives the substance of a document which in the margin is described as "Alliance usée La Loge de St. George et le Chapitre d'H-r-d-m." This extract I give in the original tongue as a typical specimen of De Lintot's curious composition and spelling, and the want of capital letters in the heading will be noted:—

Aperi et legé dicé et tacé.²
initium sapientix timor domini
a un lieu Ellevé ou regnent l'union le silence et la paix
et de l'orient de l'univers et du lieu très saint de notre souveraine
métropolle d'Ecosse

¹ De Court had in 1764 (19th December) received two guineas relief from the Stewards Lodge of the Antients, when he was described as a Frenchman, with an Irish certificate. On 21st February, 1772, P. F. M. De Court petitioned the Committee of Charity of the Moderns, when his petition was rejected.

² Compare this with the heading of De Lintot's engraving of the Cubic Stone.

L'an de notre Seigneur le 4 de may 1778 midy plain, le tres sage tres fort et tres souverain chapitre des grands Elus chevaliers Kados de la palestine constitutionnée du grade des constitutions; de la triple croix, chevaliers de l'aigle du soleil prince de Jerusalem, Chev^{lier}. d'orien et d'occident grands commandeurs parfaits maitre sublimes Ecossois de l'arche royal, grands architectes, architectes, maitre, compagnons et apprentifs gardiens conservateurs des archives du pacte et vœux sacre des princes chretiens notre metropolle assemblee toutes les loges ouverts chapitre tenans sous notre authoritté volonté liberté et plaine puissance, nous les soussignés membres de la ditte loge au degre de chevaliers de l'aigle roze croix reconnoissons avoir juré L'observance des status, et deliberations passée et apassee [et à passer] comme il en plus au long dans la lecture qui nous a été faite des dits status de la ditte souveraine Loge en presence et dans les mains de tous les membres assemblee et notamment des freres p. Lambert de lintot Ecuyer, grand administrateur, Grand maitre particulier des loges des chevaliers Kados de la palestine de la triple croix et de l'aigle roze croix & & & et de pierre de la fons de la presente loge grand conservateur de la ditte loge et d'antoine bruiquier [Brucquier] Grand premier surveillant Enciens maitres tous les trois de la loge francoise Etabli a doctors communs horn tavern incristle [? inscrite] au n°. 270 dans la grande loge symbolique de londres a faulte par nous de manquer a la ditte observance consentons d'estre reputée mors et comme tel quil ne soit plus mentions de nous fait et donne le dit jour et an qui Jesus dieu nous soit en aide.

[No. 270 was Union Lodge.]

Then follow the signatures of Jacques Vine,¹ F. Legrand, J. L. Prussorot,¹ Roget,¹ Theodor de Bruyn, Guglielmo Germoli, Adam Gerard, Francois Cherich, and Martin Bernharde Hausman. Below them is a note:—

Les cy signés membres de la loge St. George qui prirent prendrons le titre de St. George de l'Observance.

In connection with this entry it is necessary to point out that the grades are recited in their order downwards from the highest; that the members admitted on this day are first described as members of No. 68 and later of No. 270; that the name of the first Lodge was to be changed to St. George de l'Observance [from St. George de l'Unanimité, as we shall discover in another place]; and that it appears the Union Lodge No. 270 really became St. George. Also that some of the signatures at the foot of this entry have not been mentioned previously; from this fact one may assume that this was a form drawn up for No. 270 and signed by the recipients of the grades as they came in to the College.

On the 7th June, 1778, Charles Boudray [or Boudret], of St. George, was admitted up to the grade of Rose Croix and signed the Minute. The whole passage has been crossed out, the name erased with a pen, and the word "incapacité" added. Adam Gerard was admitted to the same series on the 16th October, and two days later was received K. the 7th degree.² Boudret came from Normandy and was made in St. George, no date being given in the register

In 1779, January 13, Pierre Mercier,³ Pierre Emarot, Castoro Casoni, and Malet were admitted as far as Rose Croix. Emarot is noted as giving for the poor the sum of 1^s. 6^d.; he was a Victualler, kept the Swallow Street Coffee House, and was made in St. George June 23rd, 1777. Malet was a baker, of Margaret Street, made in the same Lodge 19th January, 1778.

¹ These names are erased, and "Abiram" written over them.

² Gerard was J.W. of Perfect Observance No. 1 South of the Trent.

³ Mercier was Secretary of the same body.

In February of 1779 it is recorded that on the 10th:—

has been admitted and received K. to the 7th and last degree Jean Mattieu Lungberg, Professor of Mathematics at the Royal University of Kiel in Holstein and has been constituted Deputy Grand Master of the lodges in Lower Saxony [between the Elbe and the Oder] being charged as mentioned in the Statutes and in his diploma.

He has named as sovereign masons for Lower Saxony, the brothers D^r. Jean Godefroy Dexter and Vincent Lineau.

This Danish professor, whose name is given as Luſingberg or Lunigbert, was received as far as the Royal Arch and Rose Croix a week previous to the above, having failed to attend an extraordinary Lodge on the 1st of the month, the expenses being charged to him for breaking his word.

No more business is recorded until we come to September of this year; the entry has been made in a vacant space in one of the rituals by De Lintot, and should be fitted into its proper sequence in the narrative on account of the important event it records. It runs:—

Le 15 9^{bre}. 1779.

The Chapter of H-R-D-M. in union with the lodge St. George de l'Observance makes alliance with the Grand-lodge of England South of the River Trent and receives charter at the hands of frere Willson* for their Grand Master, Lambert de Lintot this year Master.

*(footnote added): Under the title of perfect observance
No. 1.

On 19th December, 1779, Pierre Mercier, John Falck and Jean Antoine Giraud were admitted Chevaliers K— to the 7th degree, but “they have paid nothing” is the lament of the administrator, De Lintot.

The year 1780 saw several changes. The Lodge was now at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street. From the narrative it would appear that the College of High Grades had moved to the quarters of Perfect Observance No. 1 and of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent. These three bodies were so intimately connected that it now becomes almost impossible to distinguish them; the Grand Lodge, the Lodge, and the College were now one and the same. Trouble arose at the Mitre Tavern, and De Lintot bewails the loss of regalia and furniture.

At London at our orient Mitre Tavern Fleet Street Temple bars.

The 2nd February 1780 his most Serene Highness the Prince of Brunswick and the Prince of Hesse Cassel have been proposed as members of the 7 degrees in open lodge, And have been admitted unanimously on condition of paying the customary charges as represented by the Deputy Grand Master and the Grand Conservator

Lambert de Lintot, Grand Administrator General and
Deputy Grand Master K D S, Master of the Lodge of
Observance.¹

Antoine Bruquier, Past Master, member of the College of
the 4 grades.

P.S. [Senior Warden] James Delafons, Grand Conservator,
Member of the College “Des guarante”¹ K D S. 9

Ad^m. Gerard Senior Warden [of Perfect Observance] and
Deputy Grand Conservator, as deputy K D S for
brother de la fons, representative of the Prince of
Hesse Cassel.¹

¹ Each of these signatures has the star of eight points added.

Bertrand, Secretary of the 7th degree.

Deliberated the said year
and day by 81 voices
Lambert de Lintot
1

In May, 1780, Pierre Mercier was declared a defaulter and excluded for non-payment, as well as bad conduct towards the Lodge and its members. Hintze and Falck were similarly dealt with in the following month. On the 28th June we find the General Committee assembled at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, having been summoned by the Senior Warden, to meet the deputies of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, and this combined body dealt with a complaint against the three defaulters Hintze, Falck and Mercier for having broken open the coffer at the Mitre, and carried off the jewels and decorations of the Lodge. De Lintot records that the paraphernalia belonged to him as Master, and three witnesses sign the complaint, John Savage, T. de Bruyn and Adam Gerard. Hintze was alleged to have used the properties for the admission of a Master Mason, who was probably John Henry Fletcher, his reception by Hintze into the Master's grade being referred to later as clandestine.

The same day a letter was written by Cox, landlord of the Mitre Tavern, demanding payment of money due to him from the Lodge, or the effects would be sold. The Lodge being in session tendered him 20 guineas, which he refused on the ground that it should come from the monthly meeting of the Lodge. Asked why the padlocks had been forced and the effects abstracted, he answered he could only reply to that at such monthly meeting.

In a supplementary Minute of the same date De Lintot records that he as Master (of Perfect Observance) the Senior Warden, Sword Bearer, and the new Treasurer, accompanied by a member of the Grand Lodge of York, waited on Cox at six in the evening in accordance with instructions from the "grande loge Ecossoise des 7 degrees," as the symbolic Lodge was closed for three months during the summer recess, but an emergency meeting was proposed for July 5th. Cox maintained his refusal, and the week following the matter was dealt with. The younger Cox appeared after an interpellation, and being asked if his father was now willing to receive the money due, made the excuse that his father was at the moment serving on a Grand Jury at the Old Bailey on a criminal process and could not return till perhaps four in the morning. Again interpellated Cox told the officers the coffer was in his fathers room and he had not the key. The Lodge was not opened for want of the jewels and furniture.

The same day Legrand and his assistant Marin were informed that the work they had undertaken, to supply the "delta" for the sum of two guineas, must be finished at once or they would not be paid.

Adam Gerard, S.W. of Perfect Observance, was on the 21st December, 1780, proclaimed in chapter Deputy Grand Master of the seven and last degrees of the Lodge of Heredom. It was decided that all members or Lodges, admitted or constituted in the seven degrees, wherever dispersed over the earth, were to be inscribed at the Grand Lodge of York, paying 2^s. 6^d. for the registration of each member.

On the 11th December, 1780, the very Worshipful Brother Major John Savage, a member and officer of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, was received and admitted a member of the Lodge of the seven and last degrees. For some unexplained reason this entry has been crossed out with the pen, but the next entry, dated 15th March, 1781, shows that Savage and Pierre Jean Lambelet were received and constituted:—

"Noble maçons d'heredon dans le 6^e degré dit Chevalier de l'Aigle,
du pelican, roze croix de S^e. André d'heredon triple croix, membres

¹ Under this De Lintot has drawn a large star with the four letters A.M. (down) P.M. (across).

du pacte sacré des princes chretiens françois, Englois, allemans et flamands, dit chevaliers servant."

The year of our Lord the 12th July 1782 the brother Pierre Jean Laurent has been received into the seventh and last degree K. The said brother Laurent has received his diploma for the symbolic [Lodge] and paid half a guinea for the poor K ---- s.

This entry is signed by Laurent, and also by Francis Baes, Secretaire. Here we find the first contact with Ireland, for it is recorded that Prince Masonry was introduced into Dublin in 1782 by foreigners, of whom Laurent was one, and Zimmerman was another. On January 20th of that year Laurent was present in the chair at the Kilwinning Chapter of Knights Templar in Dublin, and raised six candidates to the sublime degree of Prince Mason Knights of the Red Cross, investing one of them with the authority of Most Wise Sovereign Prince Mason, with all the accustomed honours. For his services that day Laurent was elected an Honorary Member of the Kilwinning Lodge, with a promise that when he left the kingdom he was to have a certificate to that effect. On this occasion Zimmerman acted as Senior Warden. On the 23rd of June, as he was about to leave Ireland, he (Laurent) requested and obtained his certificate. On the 12th July following he was in London and took his 7th or K. degree in Perfect Observance.

I have discovered among the De Lintot papers a document relating to John Peter Laurent, important because it is a model form used by Perfect Observance for Kadosh certificates, and is marked "Copie pour les certificats," but is undated.¹ The text runs as follows:—

Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini.

f. . . E. . . C. :²

De notre orient en un lieu élevé où Regnent L'Union le Silence et la Paix de L . . . V . . . 17 . . . de L . . . M . . . 57 . . . de no. f. 468 de notre constitution 1314 de 11 mars.

Nous grand administrateur general deputé grand maitre et grand Conservateur de la très souveraine Loge et College d'Herodon d'Ecosse des sept et derniers degrés, Phisique Philosophique Morale et encyclopedique, Maitre de la Loge de la parfaite observance No. 1 sons la Constitution de la grande Loge d'Angleterre South of the River Trent (au sud de la Riviere Trent) de toute antiquité établie a York. Certifions a nos Chapitres repandus sur la surface de la terre que nous avons reçu admis et constitué membre et Chevalier K. le très sage frere Pierre Jean Laurent, Après nous avoir donné toutes les rencontres des preuves de son Zèle pour la foy l'Esperance et Charité, nous a fait sa dernière obligation sur le Sommit de notre Orient en face du *grand architecte de l'Univers* conformément a nos Statuts et obligations, et en recompense de ses travaux dans les sept et derniers degrés de l'art Royal, nous l'avons constitué et constituons Maitre de notre Loge Simbolique luy donnant pouvoir de faire et recevoir des app. Comp. et M^{re}. Simbolique en sa qualité de K. par tous les Lieux de la terre a ses obligations de les faire registrer et Certifier en notre dite Loge, en foy de quoy nous luy avons delivré le present Certificate registré sur notre grand livre fo. 12 contre signé par l'un de nos grand Secretaire et fait signer son nom ne varietur et avons fait apposer les sceaux de notre dite Loge.

donné a Londres les dits jour et an que dessus.

Par ordre du grand administrateur général.

f^s. Baes Second Secretaire

en l'absence du Premier.

Copie pour les certificats.

¹ It must have been on or after 12th July, 1782, as given in the previous extract.

² Faith, Hope, Charity.

Baes, one of the Grand Secretaries who signed this document, was Melchior François Baes, a Master of Languages, of Castle Street, Leicester Fields, made a Mason at Dunkirk. He was also Secretary of St. George de l'Observance from 1780 to 1784. He was another of the shining lights who sought relief from the Committee of Charity, for in 1771 he was relieved with five pounds.

On the 27th of December, 1782, a new Master was chosen for Perfect Observance No. 1. The record of this meeting is thus given, as it is a fair specimen of De Lintot's style in recording an important event:—

On the Feast of St. John the Almoner, in open lodge, in good and due form, and in the accustomed manner, it was proposed to nominate a Master of the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 under the constitution of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, seated at York; when after having demanded the votes in the usual way, according to the statutes, the very dear Brother Nicholas Joseph Gregoire, former Senior Warden and member of our lodge of the 7 and last degrees d'Ecosse d'h.r.d.m. of Kilwinning was nominated Master by the plurality of 81 voices, after which he was informed that the said Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 was in alliance with our said Grand Lodge of the 7 and last degrees, and that this lodge conformably to the statutes was and consisted only of the first symbolic degree. The reading of the statutes being done, and he having been asked if he consented to submit to the Law in the said statutes, and he replying that he did, we the undersigned administrator general, after having received the accustomed obligation from the very dear brother have constituted him Master of our said symbolic Lodge and invested him with the jewels in consequence, and placed him in the chair in the accustomed manner.

[Signed] N. J. Gregoire

Lambert de Lintot
administrator.

A note appended to this entry informs us he was continued for the year 1784 by the plurality of votes on the day of St. John [1783]. There appear to be no entries for the year 1783 other than this, and we have to pass on to the summer of 1784 before the next Minute occurs.

On the second of August 1784 there was presented to our Chapter by the T.C. Frere Le General Stephano Baron de Bissy former Governor and Past Master of the 7 and last degrees of heredom, the noble gentleman Louis Adrien De Bruëys, Esquire, a noble Frenchman born at Cassembazaar in Bengal, apprentice compagnon and master of the Loge de la Bien Aimée at Amsterdam, to be made received and admitted in all the 7 and last degrees dispersed over the surface of the earth; after being sworn on his faith as a Mason, and having promised to pay the price fixed by the Statutes, we have presented him to the chapter and have received the consent of the governor as above, and he has paid 3 guineas on account into the hands of the governor.

Lambert De Lintot
Deputy governor.

[Signed] Louis Adrien de Bruëys.
N. J. Gregoire. M.

The said day the brothers Peter Laroudie, [and] Le Jeune have taken their obligations of T.P. and Royal Arch before the Chapter.

Received 2^s. 6^d. charity of the
brother Larudie 2 August 1784
in the Chapter of T.P.K.

The Baron Don Michel Beguelin De Asuni, a well known musician, was commonly called Michael Ghillini. We have seen in a previous paper (*A.Q.C.* xxxiv., p. 165) that M. Ghillini was made 23rd June, 1766, in the Lodge "L'Immortalité de l'Ordre." He was a member of St. George de l'Observance and its Master when a Warrant of Confirmation was granted by the Grand Lodge of the Moderns on 25th August, 1787, his name in the Warrant Book being quoted as Don Michael Baron Ghillini di Ausuni. As we have just seen in the last extract, he had been admitted gratis to the grade of K.D.S. on 11th March, 1787, when his title was given as "le frere don Michel Beguelin di Assuni." At the same time he belonged to the Antients, having joined the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1 in 1787.

Three times he petitioned the Committee of Charity for relief: in January, 1770, when he received £20, a very large sum in those days; again in April, 1773, his petition being rejected; and finally in January, 1779, when "his petition was read and spoken to, but he not appearing to be a deserving Object" was rejected."

18th May 1788 at a chapter held at the house of the Grand Administrator the Chevalier Louis de Mondezer G.A.T.; the brothers Robinson, Wybourn and Jean Writte [? Wright] have been admitted Architecte in presence of the grand officers after having been admitted Royal Arch the 31 April 1788.¹ Brother Mallet has been confirmed Grand Sword Bearer of the seven degrees by the present grand officers by 81.

B. Bradley Esq^r. G.M.

Lambert de Lintot
Conservateur.

30th May 1787.² Jean Nicolas Jouin Chevalier, Seigneur de Sanseuil was admitted member of the lodge "de l'observance No. 53" [*i.e.*, St. George].

[Signed] Le chev. J. N. Jouin De Sanseuil.

30th May 1788 De Sanseuil [under the title just given] member of the Chevaliers K.T. of Germany & of France has been received member of the 7 and last degrees & has paid 2^s. 6^d. for his registration.

and owes 5 shillings.

P. Lambert de Lintot
Conservateur.

26th June 1788, the brother Peter Reilly, proposed in 1787, having been admitted Royal Arch of the 5 degrees, has paid his registration in order to be admitted member.³

P. Lambert de Lintot
Conservateur, pass maitre,
maitre et gouverneur des
7^{me} degrés de K.T.

26th July 1788. Abraam De la grange, member of Parfaite Egalité No. 469 was proposed, and admitted the 28th to the degree of Architecte Royal Arch . . .

The year of our Lord 1314-474 the 11th of March William Davy ap. fellow craft & Master of the ancient Lodge No. 128,⁴ Knight of the Royal Arch and Knight Templars has been admitted member of the chapter of the seven and last degree by the consent of the Master

¹ April has thirty days only.

² Error for 1788.

³ This passage has been crossed out.

⁴ At the Crown & Feathers, Holborn, No. 128A (Atholl): he was made 1785.

Wardens and members and paid three half crowns for registering and pass port according to the statutes.

Similarly two members "of the Encienne Loge No. 234," now Domatic Lodge No. 177, at the Sun in Gate Street, were admitted; these were John Wood pass Master and John Mardon: so also B. G. Kruger, K. member of the "loge "pilgrim n°. . . .¹ modern," and A. Gourgeon past master of the French Lodge.

12th October 1788, Peter Jolly and K. B. Kruger were made Chevaliers of the Royal Order of Palestine d'heredon &c &c &c and received their passports.

26th October 1788 Brother John Burke was admitted honorary member of the chapter of the 7 and last degree of free masonry & member in the chapter of Great Britain member of the Encampment of K^t. Templars.

7th December 1788 Brother Daniel Williams of the Lodge 192 Encient Lodge the Earl William Macdonald Randolph W^m. McDonald Earl of Antram Lord Lieutenant of the County of Antrom in the Province of hulster, in the kingdom of Ireland G^t. M^t. by is consent and the consent of the Chapter, has been admitted member.

We see that now several of the Antients began to enter the ranks of the Chapter of the High Grades, and mingle with the Moderns, without any sign of their Masonic differences. The Lodge last mentioned, No. 192, was the Lodge of Faith, now 141, at the Chequers in Abingdon Street. De Lintot, now writing in English, has made the Irish title of the Earl of Antrim more Ecosais than was deserved, and Macdonald should be Macdonell.

8th January 1789. Adam Gerard Senior Warden [of Perfect Observance No. 1] proposed as candidates Messires Henry Charles Nicolas van der noo, Licentiate of law, a native of Brussels; and Joseph Adrien Jean de Lincé, notary at Antwerp, native of Lierre in Brabant; and Jean Theodore van Damme, professor of primary philosophy at Louvain, native of Ghent in Flanders, all symbolic app. Comp. and Masters of the Modern Lodges in Brussels, persons born of free parents, to be admitted members of the Royal Chapter of the seven degrees, members of the lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1, and members of St. George de l'Observance No. 53 [and were duly accepted].

On the 28th January following these three foreign brethren were received "Chevalier T.P.K. d'heredon."

7th June 1789, the worthy brother New, a member of the Lodge No. 234 [Domatic] under the Constitution of the Entiens aged 41 cabinet maker, was proposed.

14th June [1789] Brother Wood proposed W^m. Robinson and Sam^l. Mecho to be admitted members of the chapter and to pass the degrees.

7th October 1789. B^r. Richard Emblin and B^r. Walley proposed by B^r. hannamm to be K. received 7^s. 6^d. each.

30th January 1790, The brothers Jean haubert [Aubert], Pierre Meunier, Charles le feuel, et Jean Saucedo, members of the constituted loge L'Esperance, . . . have received the degree of Architecte

¹ Omitted in the MS.

and Royal Arch in our said grand Lodge and Chapter, "tous françois de nation."

[They each sign the Minute.]

26th April 1790. The Knights of the Encampment registered in our said chapter having paid the dues of 7^s. 6^d. . . . and after all the formalities and necessary instructions . . . we, Grand Officers, to wit the brothers and companions, Members of the chapter of the Royal Arch of Cumberland, our very dear brothers Chev^r. W^m. Hannam Esq^r. G^d. Maitre, the Chevalier Peter Gregory, and me in my quality of administrator, have exalted to the seventh degree the Chevaliers Thomas Parr, Richard Perry, Alexander Johnson, Richard Walker Whalley, Thomas Colcomb, Robert Bayker, W^m. Robinson, Richard Emblin, Henry Lageman and W^m. Moore . . . Registered in the grand Book 3579-81.

These figures are intended to express the mystic numbers of these grades, 3. 5. 7. 9. up to 81. The reference to the Royal Arch of Cumberland, of which W^m. Hannam, Gregory, and de Lintot are named as members, at first suggested that it was another name for the Royal Arch in the series of seven degrees. But further consideration proves it to be otherwise; it relates to the Royal Arch Chapter No. 18 of the Moderns, known as the Royal Cumberland Chapter, founded in 1779. On account of the close relationship between this and the Caledonian Chapter No. 2, the members of No. 18 "were deemed to be members of No. 2," as recorded in the Register and Minutes of Grand Chapter. The names mentioned above, ten in all, are mostly found in the Register of the Royal Cumberland R.A. Chapter. W^m. Hannam is given as exalted 24.3.1778, age 44, Serg^t. Major in the Coldstream Reg^t. of Guards; Thomas Parr, Attorney, on the 28.3.1788; Richard Walker Whalley, Artist [he was a Button Maker in the Strand], age 33, on 27.2.1789; and Richard Emblin, Victualler, age 33, on 24.8.1787.¹

26th July 5794² A.M. The Chevalier de Sanseuil proposed, and he was received, Brother Jean Joyeux, app. and comp., member of St. George de l'Observance No. 53, member of the Royal chapter d'heredom of the Grand Lodge and Chapter of England South of the River Trent under the charter of Perfect Observance No. 1, by the brother Lambert de Lintot pass Maitre.

5th September 1790 [le 5 9^{bre}.] Br. Rundell Howell M.D. No. 78 high holborn has been registered architecte et Menach^m.

At this stage the records cease, save for some further entries which De Lintot has entered in blank spaces among the pages of the rituals; the only passage worthy of attention is now given, but it must be fitted into its proper order in the narrative given above. At the end of the R.A. ritual De Lintot reverts to the affair at the Mitre Tavern when Hintze and his accomplices broke open the chest and abstracted the regalia:—

At the reception of the coffer of the lodge in the month of July 1780 when the "infame abiram" Hintze made restitution, he has not restored the two red silk collars belonging to me, and a cordon of silver with the silver trowel attached, my padlock which he forced, the copy of the request which we presented to the Grand Lodge of York, which I had translated by Bertrand and paid for the translation and fair copying, which I delivered to Mercier to inscribe in his book, and as we have not opened the "pulpittre" [pedestal] because it does not belong to us, we have left it in the hands of the master of the tavern, Cox.

¹ Particulars of some of these Brethren can be found in *A.Q.C.* xxxvi., pp. 150-178.

² Anno Mundi. 1790 A.D. is intended.

Having concluded the examination of this curious record, we must pass to the rituals, which are in the same book, commencing on the last page and working backwards until we reach the Minutes, which commence at the front. The paging begins afresh at 1 and runs backwards. In glancing at these rituals I must necessarily be brief, and, still more important, exercise due caution. First comes:

GRAND COMMANDER OF THE ORIENT.

A short historical introduction refers to Aristides the Just, King of Athens, who was the first that took the title of Chevalier of the Rose Croix, and under the constitution obtained from the General of the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, joined to himself the illustrious Masons of all countries, such as Godfrey de Bouillon, first General of the Crusades and Grand Commander; Hugues, Grand Count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I., King of France; Robert Duke of Normandy, Count of Flanders; William and Ademar, Bishops; Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Etienne Ambroise of Touraine; Clotaire, King of France; Tancred Guelph; and Robert of Austrasia; William second son of the King of England; and St. Louis, King of France, Conservator Guardian of the Pact and sacred vows of the Christian princes.

This grade is only to be conferred upon grand officers of the Lodge of Perfection (and not to the brothers of the Lodge) if they have the grade of Triple Croix.

The tableau, or tracing board, differed only from that of the Chevaliers d'Orient, in showing a well situated west of Jerusalem with other emblems peculiar to the grade. Esdras conducts the candidate, who in the course of the examinations says there are six blessed names, three of them to be pronounced only when on his knees, as well as three accursed ones named Gozin the Arab, Tobias the Ammonite and Sannaballat the Horonite, reasons for which are given. He finds the adorable and incomprehensible seal inscribed with the grand name of God. The age of the candidate is 70 years. A yellow cordon is worn, referring to the duty of a Grand Commander at the rising dawn. A sword is presented to the candidate, he takes the obligation, receives the accolade, and is then entrusted with the secrets. The secret word is six fold, one Assyrian, one Chaldean, three in Hebrew, interchanged between two brothers, and the final one pronounced jointly. The initials of the word appear also on the jewel. The Commanders are covered through the ceremony and wear a yellow sash from right to left, from which hangs some instrument of Masonry (as they choose), and on the sash are embroidered three arrows and three skulls, alternating. The Lodge is draped in white, to represent a tent. A short explanation of the previous grades shows that after the three symbolic degrees come the red grades, the Ecossais, Elu, and Chevalier d'Orient, all leading up to Grand Commander.

2. CHEVALIER DE LA PALESTINE,

or Grade of Knights of the Triple Croix, third and last of the Chevalier de l'Aigle et Perfection, to be conferred only upon a grand officer, of perfect virtue, at least 33 years of age and of seven years standing as a grand officer. This being a grade of nobility, confers powers [upon the recipient] to constitute Lodges, grant brevets, to receive [candidates] when alone, to wear the cross of gold and diamonds with a red sash and the rose of seven colours. He will receive his patent and his powers three years after his reception, when he will take his final obligation of fidelity.

The Lodge is hung with azure blue, and represents a council hall. On the baldaquin are three crosses in a triangle, of green, white, and red. The presiding master is Sublime Commander, the wardens Sublime Chevaliers, the master of ceremonies Grand Esquire, and the rest of the brethren Noble Chevaliers. The Commander wears the cross (of Rose Croix) and an azure blue scarf on which are three crosses, one red at the top of the sash, white on the

centre, and green below; the jewel worn at the end of the sash is the triple cross in triangle, with the inscription "Dieu le veut." The principal officers have a red cross on the right shoulder, the knights in the south a white cross, and those in the north a green one.

The candidate is received as a Rose Croix Mason with apron and jewel of that grade, being deprived of his sword while the ceremony proceeds. The oath is taken before a crucifix, and he is invested with the cross, apron, sash and sword, with an appropriate charge for each, and the secrets given. The historical discourse is then recited, comprising a review of the Crusades, in which the Frenchmen wore a red cross, the English white, and the Germans and Flemings a green one. This is rather a lengthy recital, and is followed by the catechism or lecture, which traverses the three Craft degrees, Elu, Ecossais, Chevalier of the Sun, Chevalier d'Orient [5th grade, crossing the bridge], and Roze Croix [6th]. No apron is worn in this grade, to signify that the Masonic work is completed; it is deposited upon a trophy of arms, which is a prominent feature in the decoration of the Lodge. Then follows another explanation of a philosophical character, covering the four elements, the seven principal virtues, and so on.

The festival of the knights is to be celebrated annually on the birthday of Henry II. King of England, when they bear a bouquet of jessamine [white for England]. The French celebration will be on the natal day of St. Louis, with a bouquet of "croix de Jerusalem," a small red flower in the form of a cross [red for France].

A short description of the table ceremony concludes the ritual of this grade.

3. GRAND ARCHITECTE.

Third section of Architecte, or Sublime Architecte.

The candidate is first examined as Ecossais, and the whole instruction of this grade is developed in question and answer. The principal emblem is a brilliant triangle enclosing a Hebrew letter. The candidate's age is 81 years: he is crowned with laurel at a certain part of the ceremony.

This degree is only conferred upon a worthy brother in order to enter upon the grades of chivalry.

4. ARCHITECT, PROVOST AND JUDGE.

The Lodge is hung with black, the grade being associated with a mournful event in the traditions of Masonry. The master is termed Puissant Maitre, and represents Solomon, on a throne with seven steps; before him the Sacred Law with a compass and triangle. A golden urn plays a prominent part in the ceremony, and with it a small golden trowel.

The officers wear the red sash of Ecossais, the master with a triangle attached, the wardens a square and level respectively; all the brethren wear a habit of black velvet, with the apron over it, and jewel of their grade. That of Architecte is a compass with sector, a rose at the head of the compass surmounted by a crown. The Frere Terrible has charge of the candidate, and after his ordeal partakes of a mystic repast supposed to represent the heart of the lost Master, and he is prostrated on the floor with his face in the triangle, upon the blazing star, within which is the letter G. All this is carefully explained, and the secrets are then conferred.

The instructional catechism deals with the emblems and the ceremony. The letters S.V.G. upon the points of the triangle worn as a jewel form an appropriate basis for the lecture.

5. ROYAL ARCH.

To avoid misconception I may say at once that this grade is not the same as practised to-day, although from the similarity of name one might very naturally conclude that they are identical. The Chevalier de la royalle arch enshrines a tradition not found in the Masonry of to-day. The candidate represents a brother who discovered the body of the missing architect, and received as recompense the position which enabled the suspended work to continue.

As in one of the grades previously described the brilliant delta is prominent, but the emblem is not explained here, it is known only to the Grands Elus Parfaits.

The obligation is set out at length; in it occurs this passage:—"We swear also the same obligation [to observe the statutes] to the Grand Lodge "of England South of the River Trent, in alliance with us," &c., another proof, if it were required, that the schismatic body was practising the same rites and ceremonies as had been imported by the Lodges of the Moderns run by the London Frenchmen.

To clinch the argument I give the text of a document not yet recited, and this will conclude the present review of the High Grades:—

E. Chapitre. Grand Orient.

Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent,
constituted in London Anno Domini 1779.

Nec plus ultra.

Sy trahis tu seras trahi.

Initium sapientiae amor domini.

In an exalted place, where reigns Union, Silence, Peace: Liberty, Equality, Truth; Faith Hope and Charity, by 9 , of the True Light

99

[anno] 17 - -, of the World 57 - -, of our Fraternity 1314.

By virtue of a transaction made with the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent seated at York, by which we are empowered to admit receive and constitute as it does itself at York, in all the ancient degrees of free masonry instituted anno domini 926 by Athelstan King of England; by Beaudoin second King of Jerusalem, Grand Master of the English Knights' anno domini 1123; revised by Edwin third King of England anno domini 1358; renewed by James sixth King of Scotland, and first of that name in England, anno 1601; authorised by the Kings of Great Britain and their successors, We, P. L. de Lintot, by virtue of the said charter, registered in our said Grand Lodge by the hands of our dear brother John Sealy our Grand Secretary (¹ that for the degrees . . . relation with the Grand Lodge) of England seated in London, under the denomination of the Grand Lodge and Chapter of the seven and last degrees of Perfect Observance No. premier of the Royal Order of free masons, physical, philosophical, moral and encyclopedic.

We, P. L. de Lintot, elected master, Administrator of the said G.L. certify to all the Chevalier masons dispersed over the face of the earth, that we have received and admitted the very dear Brother . . . to the seventh and last degree KADOHS, of the Royal Order of H.R.D.M. Chevalier Templier, after having been received and admitted to all the different masonic degrees spread over the surface of our globe, and has given to us in all his trials proofs of his zeal, prudence, and charity,

In testimony of which we have delivered to him the present [document] countersigned by the Secretary of the Chapter.

De Lintot claims overmuch in this document. He clings to the statement that the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent [Preston's schismatic

¹ Portion in brackets erased with the pen, and partly illegible.

body] was seated at York. Its headquarters during the ten years it existed was at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, and eventually it merged again in the Lodge of Antiquity, from which it originally sprang.

It is a cause for wonder that hitherto nothing has been known of the doings of this schismatic Grand Lodge, or of its eldest daughter the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1, although the record presented this evening has been buried in the archives of the United Grand Lodge for a long and unknown period.

It is in the belief that some light has been thrown upon an obscure period in the history of English Masonry I have ventured to lay this exhaustive summary before my fellow students of the Craft.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Wonnacott for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. John Stokes, seconded by Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, E. H. Dring, J. D. McLachlan, A. Heiron, B. Telepneff, V. Lehmann, N. S. H. Sitwell, Ed. Armitage, J. Rasmussen, Geo. W. Bullamore, and G. W. Daynes. [It is regretted that as these Comments were handed to Bro. Wonnacott before his death, they are not now all available for publication.]

Bro. the Rev. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP said:—

With much pleasure I second the vote of thanks to W. Bro. Wonnacott for his able and valuable paper. His review of the French Lodges working in London in the eighteenth century under warrants from the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns," and his record of Lambert de Lintot's work are really important additions to our knowledge. Many of us, at one time or another, have tried to puzzle out the cyphers on de Lintot's diagrams; and it would be interesting to know whether anyone has yet succeeded in solving them all. The unravelling of intricacies of extraneous Degrees which were worked during that period, under ever-varying titles, in many different places, is another problem in which Bro. Wonnacott's paper will be permanently helpful to Masonic students. To myself in particular his notes on the ceremonies have been of special interest, as I am now engaged on a critical collation of certain contemporary French rituals. But, as we are not now in Duke Street I must say no more on this point.

Yet another disputed query incidentally illuminated by the paper is whether Prince Charles Edward Stuart was in any sense a Freemason. That he ever was a member of any warranted English Lodge is impossible, of any Lodge in Scotland is improbable; but Bro. Wonnacott has shewn us that even in London until 1774 the Prince was certainly regarded as Grand Sovereign of the Rose Croix. It would be interesting to know at whose instigation the transfer of allegiance was then made, but as the Prince died a few years later of drink and vice in Italy, the allegiance had been merely nominal. In the list of titles of officers of de Lintot's Metropolitan Council, Bro. Wonnacott mentioned an abbreviation G.I.T. as unidentified. May I suggest "Grand Inspecteur des Travaux"? I also wondered whether the I. was misread for an F., in which case "Grand Frere Terrible" would be possible.

The admission of the Earl of Antrim to de Lintot's High Grades in Dec. 1788 must have been a "red-letter" event, as he was then Grand Master of the Antients; whilst as regards Bro. Hannam's connection with the Council (which, by the way, has been alluded to by W. Bro. Tuckett in *A.Q.C.* xxxvi. p. 176) he may have been the *link* between de Lintot and Dunckerley, as he was the latter's lieutenant in several Masonic Orders at that time.

It has been an important and interesting paper, and I cordially second the vote of thanks.

BRO. EDWARD ARMITAGE said:—

“The Rite of Seven Degrees in London” is a paper which adds materially to the History of Masonry and is bound to be consulted by everyone who wants to know more of the somewhat tangled maze of Degrees in the eighteenth century.

The sale of the Constitution of a Lodge and the subsequent recognition of that sale as valid is notable. The connection of a Chapter of the higher grades with that Lodge and the full account of its activities is most interesting. The definite proof of the time and means of introduction of the Degrees of Prince Mason to Ireland has long been wanted and is now given.

In his *Arcane Schools* Bro. Yarker tells us, p. 465, “the Rose Croix is said to have been carried to Dublin by the Chevalier St. Laurent.” He also says, p. 466, “There was an Encampment termed the ‘Observance’ of London, which had evidently a Foreign Origin, as Lambert de Lintot, who was a P.M. of Lodge ‘St. George of Observance’ and who had been initiated in 1743, had for many years been working the seven degree system of the French Templary of Clermont, ostensibly as ‘Agent of Prince Edward Charles Stuart.’ A Rose Croix ritual in French was printed at London which says that a member of the degree had ‘power to assemble Masons, and perfect them up to the 6th degree of Ecossaise Knight of the East’; qualifying for the 7° of R.C.” May this not be the ritual which has been brought to light by Bro. Wonnacott?

Also, p. 467: “It also appears that French Masons had introduced into London various degrees of which the members belonged to a Lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge of London in 1754.” These meagre quotations are, however, but unsupported assertions, while now we have a full account with definite proofs which make History and so are of the utmost value.

These old Rituals of the higher degrees are all too scarce and, I feel sure, would well repay a close study. The extremely lucid way in which all the facts have been marshalled is worthy of Bro. Wonnacott, and every Masonic student owes him a deep debt of gratitude.

BRO. B. TELEPNEFF said:—

In Bro. Wonnacott’s most valuable paper are mentioned the names of two prominent Russian Masons of the second half of the eighteenth century—Bro. Yelaguin, appointed in 1772 Provincial Grand Master of Russian Lodges, and Bro. Louguin,¹ his protégé and Grand Secretary.

Bro. Yelaguin was an indefatigable investigator of Masonic history, Masonic constitutions and degrees. According to his own testimony,² he spent enormous sums of money in collecting huge piles of (Masonic) manuscripts, designs and plans and a mass of the so-called higher degrees and rituals. It was probably only this thirst for Masonic knowledge, with all its ramifications and eighteenth century aberrations, which brought Bro. Yelaguin and his collaborator into contact with the Rite of Seven Degrees practised in London. True, in Yelaguin’s papers are several allusions to Preston’s schismatic Grand Lodge,³ and the rituals of ‘Chevalier de l’Aigle or Rose Croix’ and of ‘the K.D.S.H.’ were found preserved among them⁴; but he evidently did not attach much importance, if any, to the degrees of the Rite of Seven. Witness the following remark in his “Science of Freemasons”⁵—“Two French cooks, my former servants who could write nothing better than false bills, showed me satisfactory documents from Lodges where they had been made not only some Scottish Knights, but one of them also Knight Rose Croix and Knight of the East. . . . [in St. Petersburg] there are two Lodges working in the houses

¹ Longinov: *Novikov and Moscow Martinists*, 94.

² Puipin: *Russian Masonry*, 137.

³ Puipin, 143.

⁴ *Ibid*, 148.

⁵ Quoted by Puipin, p. 140.

of foreign ambassadors with my permission: one is French, and the other Italian; in each a French cook is the ruling Master. Should I not have allowed them to work according to their usage, they would, in spite of that, have opened Lodges without further ado, acting on the strength of patents granted them by the Grand Lodge of the Duke of Chartres." Apparently, Yelaguin never worked the degrees of the Rite of Seven in the Lodges of his System. Writing in 1786 he says:—"Up to now nobody has received from me even the fourth degree, inasmuch as for our real knowledge three first degrees are quite sufficient." The additional knowledge of a mystical character imparted in Yelaguin's Lodges after 1786 had nothing to do with the Rite of Seven Degrees or any French Masonic Systems.²

Thus it seems that besides enriching Bro. Yelaguin's Masonic library, the Rite of Seven Degrees, so well illustrated by Bro. Wonnacott's paper, had hardly any further influence on Russian Freemasonry.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES writes:—

The paper read by Bro. Wonnacott must come as a shock to those brethren who allege that there is nothing further to be discovered by the Masonic Searcher, and that the Lodges of Research are ploughing the sands. To the Masonic Student the paper comes as a beacon light showing clearly that they have by no means reached the end of the road of knowledge. The grateful thanks of all are therefore due to Bro. Wonnacott for giving to the Lodge, in such a clear and lucid manner, the result of his investigations, which must have involved so much patient effort. The facts which he now brings to our notice are of course indisputable, and do not lend themselves to written comment; neither do the rituals of the several degrees comprising the Rite, the latter being a matter for a tiled Lodge, Chapter or Conclave. There, thus, only remains the Lodges and Brethren mentioned by Bro. Wonnacott in the course of his paper.

The first of the French Lodges referred to—constituted at the Solomon's Temple in Hemmings Row—is of considerable interest, as the old rule that Brethren should only belong to one Lodge in London was first relaxed in favour of the members of this Lodge. At a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held on the 19th February, 1724, it was agreed

"That no Brother belong to more than one Lodge at one time within the Bills of Mortality."

At a meeting, however, held on the 17th March, 1725, the question was put

"Whether any B^r. that belongs to the French Lodge held at the Sign of Solomons Temple shall not have the Liberty to belong to any other Lodge within the Bills of Mortality."

It was thereupon agreed that he could. This Lodge first appears in the Engraved List of 1725 as "The Temple of Solomon, The Corner of Castle Street & Hemmings Row. Fourth Tuesd. in every Month." It appears 60th in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1725, with 17 members, mostly French, and nearly all of whom are to be found in the List of the Members of some other Lodge in London. The Lodge does not appear in the Engraved List of 1729, and we have no evidence as to what happened to it. No other Lodge seems to have occupied its habitation, and it was not until the Antient Lodge, No. 23, met at the White Lion, Hemmings Row, that any other Lodge met in that street or lane.

In a MS. book, containing the list of Deputations for Provincial Grand Masters, in the Archives of Grand Lodge, there are lists of Lodges visited,

¹ Quoted by Puipin, p. 137.

² Telepneff: *Russian Masons*, 23.

either by the Grand Master or the Secretary of Grand Lodge, in the years 1736—1738 and 1741. Amongst the 31 Lodges visited in 1736 we find "Swan Long Acre French Lodge." In 1741 the only Lodges specified as visited are two, one of them being "The Union French Lodge at the Cardigan head Charing X March 28 1741." This is further evidence that the distinctive name was retained after the Lodge had left the Union Coffee House.

The French Lodges seem to have been a little conservative in their choice of Taverns. The Horn Tavern, Doctors' Commons, housed Loge de l'Esperance, No. 254, from 1765 to 1769, it being then known as the French Lodge. In 1769 the French Lodge, No. 331, removed from the Fountain, Ludgate Hill, to the Horn Tavern. We cannot say whether the advent of this Lodge made the older Lodge move to Lord Blaney's Head, Bow Street, or whether the younger Lodge came to the Horn Tavern because the older Lodge had left, but it seems clear that the events that happened resulted in the older Lodge changing its name to the Ancient French Lodge, to distinguish it from the younger Lodge of the same name. In 1771 the Ancient French Lodge returned to the Horn Tavern, and for the remainder of that year and a part of the following one both French Lodges were under one roof.

Another Tavern patronized by the French Lodges was the Turk's Head, Gerard Street. Loge des Amis Reunis, No. 475, was at that Tavern from its constitution till its erasure in 1777. In that year, Loge l'Esperance, No. 434, which had also been constituted at the Turk's Head in 1768, but had moved away in 1770, returned and remained there for a year. The Old Horn Lodge, which had met at the Turk's Head from 1773, united with the Somerset House Lodge—one of Dunckerley's Lodges—on the 10th January, 1774, and continued to meet at the same Tavern until it removed to the Adelphi Tavern, Strand, in 1775.

From 1785 to 1799 the Loge l'Esperance, No. 434, met at the Thatched House Tavern, and during that period we find that the Prince of Wales Lodge—joined by Thomas Dunckerley on the 18th February, 1788—was also working in that Tavern, meeting there from 1787 to 1789. The Lodge of the Nine Muses also met at that Tavern from 1777 to 1821.

We have been told of the trouble that occurred, in May, 1780, between Cox, the landlord of the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, and de Lintot and his Officers. The landlord was, apparently, Thomas Cox, and we learn from the Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, that he was landlord of that Tavern in 1768, being then a Mason, and entertaining the Lodge. On the 2nd May, 1770, the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity disclose that a Mr. Thomas Cox was made a Mason and passed to the Second Degree, although he was "something under age." This is probably the landlord's son referred to by Bro. Wonnacott.

The Lodge of Antiquity was meeting at the Mitre Tavern when its members seceded and formed the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, and, for a brief period, there existed at the Mitre two Lodges, each claiming the title Lodge of Antiquity. The Minutes of the seceding Lodge record, on the 18th November, 1778, as follows:—

"The impropriety of allowing Mr. Cox to entertain in his House, any other Persons stiling themselves the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 appearing manifest,

It was moved by Bror. Lloyd & seconded by Bror. Bradley—That Mr. Cox be immediately called in & told the above mentioned glaring impropriety & that if he continued to entertain in his House any Persons other than this Lodge assuming the Title of this Lodge, This Lodge would be oblig'd to remove itself from his House. Mr. Cox was accordingly called in, and upon his seeming attachment to the newly and self-created Lodge of Antiquity, below stairs, his consequent refusal to comply with the request of this Lodge, & upon some equivocations respecting the security of the Furniture of the Lodge,

in his House, the following motion was made and seconded as the last & unanimously resolved—That Mr. Cox be immediately paid all that is due to him,—That this Lodge be removed to the Queens Arms Tavern in St. Paul Church Yard, and that for proper security the furniture of the Lodge be immediately transported thither, and our next Meeting advertized in the public papers to be held there.”

On the 25th November the removal had been effected, but that portion of the Lodge which was continued to be recognized by the Grand Lodge of England remained at the Mitre Tavern until it removed to the Freemasons Tavern, Great Queen Street, in 1781. Notwithstanding the trouble with Cox, we may note with curiosity the fact that the Lodge No. 1 Perfect Observance was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent at the Mitre Tavern, on the 15th November, 1779, being joined then or shortly afterwards by that Grand Body and the College of High Grades dealt with by Bro. Wonnacott. Within six months Cox makes his demand and trouble ensues. We may perhaps wonder why the Queen's Arms Tavern was deserted and a return made to the unfriendly Cox at the Mitre Tavern?

In the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2 for 10th February, 1779, the following is recorded:—

“A Letter having been received from the Lodge de L'Observance of Heredom in Scotland in Union and alliance with the Lodge of St. George in Great Tichfield Street No. 68, applying for a Constitution through us under the Grand Lodge at York—the same was read, and the Secretary directed to send a Letter to said No. 68 in Tichfield Street, that the same shall be duly answered. N.B. for the Constitution see the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.”

This record and the entry of the 15th September, 1779, made in a vacant space in one of the rituals by de Lintot, may perhaps be read together.

At the Election Night—9th June, 1779—of the Lodge of Antiquity, the Minutes record the following Visitors:—

“Willm. Siddall, Esqr.	G.M. of all England.
Major Paul	
P. Lambert de Lintot	Admr. Genl. & Represtr. of the G.M.
	of ye Lodge of Heredom, Scotland.
D. G. Hintze	Conservateur & Rep ^{er} . of said G.M.
fran ^s . Le Grand	S.G.W. & Mast ^r . of the Lodge de
	L'Observance, No. 68.
Ad ^m . Gerard	Jun ^r . Warden of said Lodge.
Peter Mercier	Grand Sec ^{ty} .
Theod ^s . de Bruyn	Treas ^r .
R. Bertrand	Sub. Secretary.
Reda	Grand Orator.
Jermoli	Grand Master of the Ceremonies.
James Johnstone	Grand Architecte.
Castoro Cassoni	
fr. Malet	
Jno. Christr. Falk	
Franc ^s . Kalm	Secry. of the old Caledonian Lodge.”

The names of most of these Visitors have been mentioned in the paper this evening, including those of Hintze, Falck and Mercier, the three defaulters who broke open the coffer at the Mitre and carried off the jewels and decorations of the Lodge.

In the Records of the Lodge of Antiquity there are also many references to Major John Savage and Benjamin Bradley, both mentioned in Bro. Wonnacott's paper, the latter as a Grand Master.

De Lintot records that Bro. Hintze did not restore to him "a cordon of silver with the silver trowel attached." It would be of great interest to those of us who are searching for further facts concerning the symbolic use of the Trowel in our Lodges if Bro. Wonnacott could indicate if he has come across any reference to the Trowel in the Rituals of de Lintot. In what degree did de Lintot use the silver Cordon with the silver Trowel attached? Was it in the same Degree as the one in which the small golden Trowel plays a part, or in some other?

Bro. N. S. H. SITWELL writes:—

The reference to the R.A. Cumberland Chapter is interesting as I have three certificates granted to Bro. Bernard Ferrière:—

- (1) From the Royal Jubilee Lodge No. 185 at the Clarendon Hotel, Old Bond Street, which runs: "We do hereby certify that Brother Bernard Ferrière has been raised by us to the first, second and third degrees of Masonry and is a member of our Lodge.

London, the 16th March A.D. 1809 A.L. 5810.

? G. Street
Master

Jam. Wingfield
Senior Warden

P. Elyès
Junior Warden."

and some foreign signature "for the Secretary."

- (2) His R.A. certificate from the Caledonian Royal Arch Chapter No. 2 dated April 3rd AL 5814 A.D. 1809.
- (3) His G.L. certificate signed by Wm. White on the 24th day of March AL 5810 A.D. 1809.

The dates of this group are interesting.

As regards Charles Stuart, I would like an opinion as to the exact connection between the Rite of the VII. degrés and the Haute Observance or L'Exacte Observance. Personally I believe they are essentially the same. Now it is stated that Charles Edward was displaced by the Duke of Cumberland as G.M., but Lantoine states:—

"La Haute Observance ou L'Exacte Observance.

"Mauvais signe! Le baron d'occasion (1) perd de son prestige. Il a beau s'arbriter derrière le Chevalier à la plume rouge qui lui a donné ses pouvoirs, on les discute, ces pouvoirs. On lui demande des explications. Il renouvelle son serment sur 'son épée et sur son honneur,' mais on doute de la solidité de cette épée et de cet honneur. On le met en demeure d'ouvrir sa boîte à malices. Il annonce . . .

"(1)—"Le Forestier laisse à Hund ce titre nobiliaire, mais Frédéric Bulau qui semble très renseigné sur sa famille lui dénie absolument le droit de le porter."

"alors que ce Supérieur Inconnu qu'on lui a présenté à Paris au Chapitre de Clermont était . . . Charles-Edouard, prétendant au trône d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre. Toujours Charles-Edouard! On le croit—on veut bien le croire. Mais ce Supérieur joue trop bien son rôle d'inconnu; il ne se manifeste pas assez.

"Alors au Convent de Brunswick, en 1775, on projette de créer une grande maîtrise moins occulte. L'ordre du jour portait que la maison des Stuarts que l'on croyait généralement en possession de la Grande Maîtrise héréditaire n'ayant pu ou n'ayant voulu depuis

“plusieurs années s’occuper des affaires de l’Ordre, cette tacite renon-
 “ciation permettait d’élire un autre Grand-Maître. Et l’on élit le
 “Duc de Brunswick, en ne laissant plus sous l’autorité du baron de
 “Hund que la Haute et Basse Saxe.”

If the Haute or Exacte Observance and the VII. Degree rites are the same we have a record here of a secession.

Lantoine states, on page 214 of *La Franc-Maçonnerie chez Elle*:—

“Les Supérieurs Inconnus demeurent introuvables, et Charles-Edouard
 “interwievé a signé de sa main une Déclaration dans laquelle il affirme
 “n’avoir jamais été franc-maçon, qu’il aurait bien voulu l’être mais
 “que son père le lui avait défendu et que malgré son désir de
 “renseigner le conseiller aulique, il n’avait pu découvrir une seule
 “pièce maçonnique dans tous les papiers qu’il avait fait venir de
 “St-Germain-en-Laye! Pour comble de malheur, le duc de Sudermanie
 “qui venait d’être nommé chef de la VIIe province de la Stricte
 “Observance avait écrit au comte d’Albany (nom qu’avait pris Charles-
 “Edouard) pour lui demander une confirmation officielle de sa dignité.
 “Et voilà, ô stupéfaction!—que Charles-Edouard lui avait répondu le
 “25 septembre 1780: ‘Le nouveau grade que vous avez obtenu ne
 “pouvait tomber en de meilleures mains. La totale obscurité en
 “laquelle je me trouve relativement à vos mystères ne me permet pas
 “d’en dire davantage, tant que je ne serai pas éclairé.’ ”

and on page 115, referring to Ramsay:—

“Ses diverses tentatives d’introduction des hauts grades en Angleterre
 “en 1728, et plus tard en France, où il fonda la Grande Loge Anglaise
 “en 1743, et avec le concours de Charles Stuart, à Arras en 1744 le
 “Grand Chapitre primordial Jacobite.”

“Rien, aucune trace de cela dans la vie du Chevalier, et nous croyons
 “avoir lu à peu près tout ce qui a été écrit sur lui. Cette vie est,
 “il est vrai, un peu obscure, mais avec des lumières assez vives qui
 “nous font au moins connaître sa mentalité—ce qui importe surtout.”

The wildest tales existed about the Pretender, as, for example, the statement in the Charter of Loge le Phœnix created at Paris on 11th December, 1804 “en vertu des pouvoirs à nous attribués par la Métropole Loge de l’Un.: érigée au 1^{er} G.: Or.: de la vallée de Londres le 15 Avril 1687 et confirmé par la Bulle de Charles Steward le 6 Août suivant.”

The evidence in favour of Charles Edward is vague and scanty. It does not satisfy me at all, and I am inclined to go further and to say that the Resolution quoted by Bro. Wonnacott and that of the Convent de Brunswick were merely convenient ways of escaping from the Stuart myth.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

Since my dear friend and Brother is no longer with us to hear the words of praise that his swan-song in Masonic research demands, I lack the heart to offer some comments which might have evoked further information from his marvellous store of knowledge. As a memorial of my respect and affection for Bro. Wonnacott, I append as an illustration to his paper a copy of the original Minute of Kilwinning Lodge, Dublin, describing the meeting at which Bro. Laurent introduced the Rose Croix degree there. This Minute is taken from the transcript made for me a couple of years ago by my friend, Bro. J. Hewton, and I gave an account of its contents to the Somerset Masters in 1925.

I should mention that the original Minute Book has been considerably defaced by time:—

	1782)	Kilwinning Lodge opened in Due
	Jany. 13)	Form the Worshipful in the Chair
G.R.	10 Members		present a High & Knight Templars
J.P.	Lodge visit'd		by Bror. Laurent from Paris
Sr. GoN.	Brors. Byrne & Todderick		were rais'd to the
	sublime Degree of High Knight Templar		with
	all the accustom'd trials of skill & valour		
	& the whole end'd with the usual harmony		
	Bror. Southwell was likewise raised to the		
	sublime Degree of High Knt. Templar.		
			S. Darling E.G.M.
	W. Rainsford. Scribe		W. McClean E.G.S.W.

Kilwinning Lodge of Emergency
 open'd in form a Prince Mason Knt. of
 (the Red Cross Lodge Bror. Laurent in
 the Chair when Brors. W. Rainsford, S. Darling
 (F.) Heath, G. Rainsford, J. Wheeler & J. Byrne
 (were) raised to the sublime Degree of Prince Mason
 () the Red Cross & our Worshipful Bror. Darling
 () Bror. Laurent invest'd with the authority
 () Wise Sovereign Prince Mason with all
 (accu)stom'd Honours.

Resolved, that as there are many necessary
 matters of Preparation & Furniture for the
 Room wanting in Order to give this
 Degree its full sublimity that no other person
 be made till such apparatus be
 provided.

Resolved, that it appears to these Members
 that this Degree is of such Consequence
 that it is absolutely impossible that
 any Person can receive it till he is
 sufficiently grounded in all the previous
 ones therefore the 12th Rule of this
 Lodge must be most strictly attend'd
 to.

Resolved that these Members do meet
 from time to time to prepare such
 further regulations as are necessary
 & to provide such apparatus as is
 wanting.

Resolved that they shall fix such
 sum as is necessary for Brethren to pay
 who receive this Degree which shall
 be appropriated to Defray the Lodge
 the Expences it will be at in provid(ing)
 such necessary apparatus, &c.,

Resolved that as the smallest ()
 of the grateful sense this Lodge ()
 the favour Bror. Laurent has ()
 conferr'd on us that he be elect'd ()
 Honorary Member of our Kilw()
 and when he leaves the King(dom)
 present'd with a Certificate f()

and the whole end'd with Peace L(ove and)
Unanimity.

S.:P.:+	Laurent
S.:P.:+	Emanuel Zimmerman ()
S.:P.:+	W. Rainsford
S.:P.:+	S. Darling
S.:P.:+	Frans. Heath
S.:P.:+	Geo. Rainsford
S.:P.:+	Jno. Wheeler
S.:P.:+	Jas. Byrne

From this momentous meeting sprang the two Irish Prince Masons (Rose Croix) Chapters, "Original" and "Kilwinning," which are still flourishing and whose records go back to 1782. They are the two oldest R.C. Chapters in the world.

Pierre Jean Laurent was registered as a member of Lodge 584, Dublin, on the 5th July, 1782, and a Grand Lodge certificate was issued to him the same day. Lodge 584 was the Irish Warrant under which the members of Kilwinning worked the Craft Degrees.



REVIEWS.

LES ILLUMINÉS D'AVIGNON.

By Joanny Bricaud. Paris, 1927.

This publication forms the fourth volume of the series known as the "Bibliothèque des Initiations Modernes." The author bases his statements largely on material drawn from a pamphlet by Marc de Vissac, the title of which is "Dom Pernety et les Illuminés d'Avignon." This was published at Avignon in 1906. Mention is frequently made of this pamphlet, with due acknowledgment of the source whence the information is derived. M. Bricaud has, however, clothed what may be described as somewhat of a skeleton-outline with flesh and sinews, and has added many valuable details which make the figure of Pernety stand out as a living personage. Especially useful is the Bibliography at the end of this little volume. It proves in itself that M. Bricaud has spared no pains to arrive at a thorough investigation of his subject. He says, in a foreword, that little is known about the Illuminés of Avignon, although brief mention is made of them in dictionaries and encyclopædias. He further remarks on the extraordinary circumstance that the age of the Encyclopedists and Philosophers in France was also the age of the so-called prophets and wonder-workers. You can place in front of such men as Voltaire, Diderot, and d'Alembert, who were generally regarded as incredulous if not actually sceptical, such personages as Swedenborg, Pasqually, Saint-Martin, Mesmer, and Cagliostro, all founders of mystical groups given over to the pursuit of wizardry, magic, and Illuminism.

It is a curious history, this of the Benedictine monk escaping from his monastery to find shelter in Germany under the protective care of the great Frederick, who, under the apprehension that this Pernety is the one who wrote "Les Lettres philosophiques sur les Physionomies" (a work which greatly attracted him) is unusually kind to the ex-Benedictine. We are told later how Pernety was led by the advice of his guiding spirit (known as "La Sainte Parole") to gravitate eventually to Avignon. Such a command appeared to him the hardest thing he had yet had to accomplish, seeing that Avignon was a Papal stronghold. But, behold, a "Deus ex machina" arises in the person of a Marquis de Vaucroze, and he bountifully bestows on Pernety a small property situated a little way outside the city, and here is established the first home and the legitimate centre of the Illuminés of Avignon. It was called Mount Tabor, a Scriptural allusion which may be easily understood. "The temple of Tabor consisted of two rooms furnished with chairs and tables and some allegorical pictures. One room served for secretarial duties and meetings, and the other, in which there was a species of altar, was reserved for worship. Attached to these rooms was a laboratory, where adepts worked at various experiments in alchemy," including the search for the famous philosopher's stone.

M. Bricaud asks, as a question of general interest, "What were the dogmas professed by these brethren of Avignon?" and then goes on to explain that Pernety's visionary beliefs were much akin to those of Swedenborg, with this astonishing difference—that Pernety persuaded his followers to a worship of the Virgin Mary, and spoke of her as a fourth Person in the Trinity, making in effect of the Trinity a Quaternity.

M. Bricaud gives us a pleasing and picturesque account of the various individualities (and amongst them one may find some well-known names) of

those who attached themselves to Pernety. Especially to be noted is the famous Count Grabianca, who settled himself in the city of Avignon, held open house, and, presumably as a salve to his conscience, provided another temple for the Illuminés, which was largely resorted to as being more convenient. The advent of Grabianca must have been rather a thorn in the flesh for Pernety, as it would be difficult for the modest peace-loving ex-Abbé (who deep down in his soul had the germs of true religion) to stand up against the showy and flamboyant Polish nobleman (another Cagliostro). But the reign of luxury was soon brought to an end by the inglorious exit of Grabianca, and a consequent return to more peaceful and meditative conditions.

After a careful perusal of M. Bricaud's work, one cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the Avignon Illuminism stood in sharp contrast to the Illuminism propagated by Weishaupt in Bavaria. There was not the same elaboration of ritual and ceremonial, nor did one find the vulgar boasting that this system was superior to Masonry. Pernety must have regarded it rather as an adjunct to Masonry, a spiritualising of the broad principles which form the foundation of the Brotherhood. It is stated that it is not known when or where Pernety became a Mason. It was in 1766, M. Bricaud tells us, that some months after his arrival at Avignon we find Pernety propagating a new Masonic order, called the "rite hermetique" or the "rite de Pernety."

By way of Masonic history, M. Bricaud says that "the Jacobite Mylord Count of Balmerino, Grand Master of all the Lodges of England, initiated in 1736 the Marquis de Calviere, who became the founder and Master of the first Avignon Lodge, "Saint-Jean d'Avignon." Bord, in his "Freemasonry in France" (a book which is mentioned in M. Bricaud's Bibliography) says definitely that in 1774-5 there existed a Lodge at Avignon under the title of "Saint Jean des sectateurs de la vertu," which practised the ritual of Pernety—also that this Lodge was in a measure united with the Lodge "Saint-Jean d'Ecosse de la vertu persecutée," and that this latter Lodge had existed since 1742 as a Mother Lodge. But there is no mention of any Lodge so early as 1736; presumably this latter Lodge must be the one to which allusion is made, despite the fact that M. Bricaud informs us that the issuing of the Papal Bull in 1738 necessitated the closing down of the Lodge, and that its labours were not resumed till 1748, and then the Comte de Villeneuve was "Venerable." It is difficult to reconcile these dates and opposing statements. One would welcome more particulars concerning "le comte de Balmerino" and "le marquis de Calviere."

M. Bricaud has done good service in correcting two very prevalent errors. He proves conclusively that the Abbé Jacques Perneti, who has often been referred to as Dom Pernety's uncle, was in reality his cousin. He also proves as conclusively that Pernety did not die, as is generally stated in notices of his life, in 1801, but in 1796. The confusion of dates may have arisen by his being mistaken for his brother, who was also an Illuminé of Avignon.

A recitation of the subjects of the chapters in M. Bricaud's book will serve to show that he has well covered the ground in his survey of his subject. They are respectively, "Pernety as Benedictine"; "Pernety as Freemason"; "Pernety and the group of Illuminés at Berlin"; "From the Illuminés of Berlin to the Illuminés of Avignon"; "The Illuminés of Avignon."

To all who are interested in that at-one-time exuberant and very variegated blossom which grew on the tree of Masonry, calling itself Illuminism, this volume will prove to be full of thought and suggestion. It will also give cause to reflect on how short a time these gaily coloured blooms exist; they quickly wither and fall, but the parent trunk remains firm and solid. Still all species of Masonry growth are worthy of attention, not least the doings semi-mystic, semi-extravagant, semi-fantastic, of the cohort of beings who banded themselves together as Illuminists, drawing into their body many of the great ones of the earth. The Illuminism of Bavaria was in this especially notable, and by the side of it the Avignon group was a very modest coterie, but it may be that its

founder, though almost forgotten to-day, was guided by higher powers and motives than those that animated Weishaupt and his followers. M. Bricaud's work may be commended to all who are seekers after Masonic knowledge, especially in the direction of history, and its perusal will be found to be edifying and profitable because it will open up other avenues of thought. It may be said to be a generally reliable work, though some of the statements would be strengthened by further corroboration.

January, 1928.

H. C. DE LAFONTAINE.

HISTORICAL RECORD. LODGE TWO, DUBLIN. 1727-1927.

Lodge Number Two is to be congratulated not only upon its long and honourable career, but also that it has been able to enlist the services of so doughty and sympathetic a champion as Bro. Philip Crosslé for the purpose of recording its History. The little book which has recently been issued under the auspices of the Lodge of Research No. 200 Dublin, is packed full of interesting references and comments, and the illustrations are good and appropriate.

We are told that the Lodge was actually one of the "six Lodges of Gentlemen Freemasons" which escorted the Earl of Rosse when he was installed as Grand Master in June 1725, and that therefore it may be regarded as of Time Immemorial Constitution. Further that it received from the Grand Lodge of Ireland a Warrant dated 22. May 1727, which was called in and replaced by a second Warrant dated 24. October 1732.

Although it may be admitted that these statements are *possibly* correct, it is necessary to point out that the traditional date—22. May 1727—first appears in a Register of about 1760, and that the Warrant of 1732 contains no reference to an earlier issue, but purports to be for an entirely new creation. Those of us who have had the task of trying to prove the continuity of Lodges, know the difficulties that confront us, even when some information exists in regard to Membership and place of Meeting.

Apparently the Lodge possesses no records for the first hundred years or so of its existence, and Bro. Crosslé has therefore been compelled to collect material—unfortunately very scanty—from other sources, in a laudable endeavour to prove that "Lodge Two" is really "the oldest *regular* warranted Lodge under the Irish Constitution."

From the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that "previous to 1806 the Lodge seems to have led a placid life—nothing interfering to disturb the harmony." Then came the Seton schism, and it is not made clear what part was taken by the Lodge during those troublous times. Bro. Crosslé mentions that the Lodge elected no officers for several years. May it not be that the Lodge took the part of the seceders, and that therefore no returns were made to the Regular Grand Lodge during that period?

The troubles being over, steps were taken to place the Lodge on its feet again, and a very curious "Union" was effected with the First Volunteer Lodge of Ireland No. 620. Each Lodge seems to have retained a separate existence, but Candidates were ballotted for in *both*, and initiated in Lodge Two only; while no members were admitted into No. 620 except Master Masons from Lodge Two. The arrangement remained in operation for fifteen years; at all events, the books of Grand Lodge show that down to 1831 the members of Lodge Two were registered also as of No. 620.

We find some curious references to degrees outside or beyond the Craft. The Lodge worked the Royal Arch even after the members had obtained a Charter from Grand Chapter. And as might be expected the degree was preceded by those of Excellent and Super-excellent Masons, and by the Ceremony

of Passing the Chair or Virtual Past Master. But is Bro. Crosslé on safe ground when he says that in old times "the Master Mason Degree was what we now know as the Installed Master and Royal Arch degrees"?

There is also reference to Black Masonry, which was doubtless the Templar degree; and what is of particular interest, we are told that in 1825 John Fowler received from America and introduced into the Lodge "the present form of the Mark Master Mason degree," this being its first introduction into the British Isles! But the degree of Mark Master Mason was certainly known and worked in England in 1769, and in Scotland in 1777, and somehow I should expect to find references even in Ireland earlier than 1825.

One rather wonders what the Secretary was thinking about in 1827. The summons for a meeting on 1. April of that year shows that something has been erased after "Lodge Number," and an arabic figure 2 has been inserted instead of the traditional TWO!

February, 1928.

W. J. SONGHURST.



NOTES AND QUERIES.



HUROT AND FREEMASONRY IN CO. ANTRIM.—Since my essay was written (*A.Q.C.* xxxv., 191) I have had the opportunity of examining books in the British Museum dealing with Thurot. Those I have looked into give the following scraps of interest (Press marks in brackets):—

(1) *Journal historique du Capitaine Thurot*, 1760. (286.a.33.). At page 10 the same story is told, that the first ship captured by Thurot was set free after an exchange of

goods.

(2) *Apologie du Capitaine Thurot*, 1778, "A Londres." (9077.eee.3.) The author says that, on leaving St. Malo on his first voyage, 16th July, 1757, Thurot captured an English brig laden with sugar, coffee and cocoa. "Our sailors did not abuse their rights as conquerors, and contented themselves with exchanging some goods with their prisoners."

This pamphlet is largely cribbed from (1).

(3) *Adresse à Messieurs les representans etc.*, Paris, 1790. (936.f.14(28).) This is an address to the National Assembly, claiming a pension for Thurot's daughter, and gives quite a different account of his early years. There is no mention of his exploits in Ireland as a youth.

(4) *Vie du Capitaine Thurot*, by N. J. Marey, 1791. (277.e.17.) This mainly agrees with (3) as regards the early life, but hints at a connection with Ireland in telling that in 1750 Thurot married an Irishwoman, Mademoiselle Smith. Marey states that on the 26th July, 1757, Thurot captured the *Rotterdam*, Captain Edward Barry, returning from St. Christopher laden with sugar and coffee. His further account of the disputes between Thurot and the Commander of the French troops when in Belfast Lough shows the former to have had a good local knowledge of the neighbourhood.

I think we may accept the foregoing accounts as some confirmation of Durand's statement that Thurot released the captured ship, for some reason or another. Whether that reason was the one given by his English biographer is another matter.

One other interesting Masonic reference in connection with this invasion has just come to my notice.

The French troops captured in the defeated squadron were imprisoned in Belfast in the barracks and abominably treated by the gaoler, one Stanton, who pocketed the allowance given by Government for their support. The inhabitants of Belfast protested against this and ultimately had the wrong righted. Amongst others who swore depositions for forwarding to the authorities on the 7th February, 1761, was William Haven, who was son of Stephen Haven, the Sovereign (mayor) in 1760, and again in 1770. His deposition begins thus:—

WILLIAM HAVEN of *Belfast* in the county of *Antrim*, merchant, came this day before me, and made oath, that on *Saturday*, the twenty seventh day of *December* last, this deponent, being Master of the TRUE-BLUE LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, assembled to celebrate the Festival of *Saint John*, unanimously was addressed by the several Gentlemen who composed the same, to invite, in their names, Mr. SOVEREIGN, lieut. col. HIGGINSON, and some other gentlemen of the town to meet them the *Monday* following, in order to fall upon some scheme for the relief of the French Prisoners, which the said Lodge thought to be highly becoming, as two of the French

officers were their brethren; and necessary, because col. *Higginson*, and his officers, had declared it absolutely so for several months before, in almost every company they entered into; etc., etc.

The foregoing will be found reprinted from a rare contemporary pamphlet in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (N.S.), vol. x., p. 138.

True Blue Lodge was the famous No. 182 (1748-1821), the first warranted Lodge of Belfast.

It will please us all to read of the Belfast Brethren's efforts on behalf of the poor French prisoners, but the incident has, I think, a deeper significance. Two of the French officers had been recognized as Masons. I submit that they must have proved themselves so *according to the Antient form*. Of Belfast's adherence to such a form there can be no doubt. Just about this very time certain Masons in Philadelphia were applying to the Grand Lodge of the Antients for a warrant, as they had been excommunicated by the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Moderns, on account of their antient working: and the leader of these applicants, who became first Master of the new Lodge in Philadelphia, was Brother George Brooks:—

he is an Arch Mason, and just about to lay their case before the Grand Lodge in Dublin, in whose Books he is a Register'd member and belonging to 183 in Belfast. (Letter dated 10th Jany., 1758, quoted in Barratt and Sachse, *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania*, 1908. *Vide* Vol. I., pp. 20-26.)

The 183 in foregoing may be a mistake for 182. Still, 183 is one of the early Irish Warrants of which we have no official account, and this letter may fix its original true abode.

What seems beyond doubt is that the French Masons must have received a welcome as Antients, so they were therefore participators in a tradition that had reached France prior to 1730.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

Sphinx Lodge No. 107 I.C., Ceylon.—I have been particularly interested in Bro. Heron Lepper's paper on "The Poor Common Soldier," and I hope he will pardon the impertinence of a small correction from a brother as ignorant as myself. On page 161 he states:—

"Sphinx Lodge (No. 263 I.C.) was also the virtual founder of an Irish Lodge in Ceylon . . . Sphinx No. 107."

The similarity of name has no doubt caused this error, the Lodge being in fact the daughter of "The Queen's Own" Lodge No. 58 I.C. held in the 50th Regiment. The following is a quotation from "The Ceylon Freemason's Annual" for 1880 (the first and last edition of the "Annual," I believe):—

"The Warrant of the Sphinx Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, is dated the 16th February, 1861, and was granted to Bros. Arthur Hansbrow, Henry Thompson, and Charles Henry Newton, Master Masons and Members of the Queen's Own Lodge, No. 58, attached to Her Majesty's 50th Regiment then serving in Ceylon.

"The name Sphinx was given to the Lodge as a token of esteem and regard for the Queen's Own Lodge, No. 58, from whence the Sphinx Lodge emanated, and in compliment to the 50th Regiment, which greatly distinguished itself in Egypt, and bears the Sphinx as the leading badge on the colors of the Regiment."

J. B. DASHWOOD.

I am much indebted to Brother Dashwood for this correction. My error is the less excusable, because I happen to possess a copy of "The Ceylon Freemason's Annual," which promises to become one of the rare pamphlets of Freemasonry. Neither our own library nor, I fancy, that of Grand Lodge has

a copy of this book. Brother Dashwood has demonstrated that it is not without value.

March, 1928.

J. HERON LEPPER.

Henry Redman, Master Mason, Operative Freemason.—In the Westminster Abbey volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (at page 5) Henry Redman is named as one of the line of the men who presided over the building of that Abbey. The date there assigned to him is "in 1516."

The following information concerning Henry Redman does not appear to have been put together before. It is of Masonic interest.

In 1519 (11th year of King Henry VIII.) a grant was made which is noted in Brewer's Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., Vol. III., part 1 (No. 458 at page 162):—

Grants in September 1519.

12. William Vertue and Hen. Redmayn mason. To be master masons of the King's works in the Tower of London and elsewhere during pleasure with 12d. a day and a robe like the suit of esquires of the Household; on surrender by Vertue of patent 28 July 2 Henry VIII. T (este) Westm. 7 July 11 Henry VIII. Del. Westminster 12 Sep. 11 Hy. VIII.—S.B. Patent part 1 membrane 23.

In the same volume at p. 345:—

Grants in July 1520.

19. Henry Redman. To be master mason of the King's works at Wyndsor Castle vice Rob. Legate with 6d. a day. Del. Calais.

19 July 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

Patent part 2 membrane 33.

In Hardy & Page's "Feet of Fines for London & Middlesex," vol. 11, 1893 (B.M. 2400 e. 3) is the following entry:—

Henry 8. Mich. anno 8. Henry Redmayn, Robert Tailler and Robert Algore and Edward Coke and Joan his wife. Premises in Westbraynford. Warranty against John abbot of Westminster. Mich. anno 8.

In the *History and Antiquities of Brentford* by Fred Turner, F.R.Hist.S. (Brentford, Walter Pearce & Co., 1922) an extended reference is made to the "brass monument which is now fixed in the West wall on the South side of the entrance porch" of the Church of St. Lawrence at Brentford (having been removed from the interior of the old building):—

"The brass effigy of Henry Redman and his wife Joan is a prominent feature in New Brentford Church and the inscription thereon with its quaint abbreviations is extremely interesting:

Pÿ for the soul of henry Redman sūtyme
chefe ñ mason of ye King worke and Johã
his wyf specall benefactors of this Church
which hath gyven ctane lands and tenemēt
thereto & añuall half stypend of curats
therof & more land sufficiēt for a
ppetual objit & mking all repaŕacons
of the sayd land as it dothe apere by
ctan wrytyngs in custodie of the Churchwardens
remainÿg which heÿy decased ye X ðy of
July an° dñ XVXXVIII ò who° soull Jhu
have mēy.

The plate represents Henry Redman, his wife and two children kneeling before an altar.

Mr. Turner proceeds:—

Henry Redman, whose name has been cherished in local records for nearly 400 years was as the inscription suggests a man of some standing in the service of Henry VIII. He appears to have resided in the parish, and having a special regard for the welfare of its Priest and poor inhabitants he ordained in his last Will dated July 1528 that his body should “be buryed at the North syde of St. Lawrence quere, there where the vestre would be made.”

“Also I bequethe to the high awlter for lack of prevy tithes forgotten by negligens Vs. Item. I bequethe to the roode lyght IIIIs. IIIId. Also I bequethe to our Lady lyght in the Chappell XIIIId., and to our Lady in the Church XXd. Item. I bequethe to St. Lawrence IIIIs. IIIId. to find a taper brenning till the money be spent. Also I bequethe to a Priest to synge and rede for my soule and good helthe of my wyfe, and the soules of my father and mother and for my wyfes father and mother and all that I am bound to praie for and for all christiane soules, tenne markes for one yere, the same Priest shall kepe the quere on holie daies to maynteyne God service . . . as he will awnser before God. Also I bequethe to Syon XIIIIs. IIIId.

I give and bequethe after the decease of me and Jone my wife, the George with thappertenans and cottage with the garden grounds of William Chapman next to the said George on the west party and a cottage next to the Maydenhead which Maydenhead was the grounds of William Clavel . . . to the use of the Pishoners of West Braynford for to pay the parish Priest wags yerely III. 1. VIIs. VIIIId. and the rest to be paid for my obit.”

Joan Redman confirmed her husband's bequests by her will and bequeathed “for to kepe a crendell of wax to burne before the altar one cove which was sold “to one Henry Davyss of the said towne for 20 shillings, then unpayde.”

The author refers to disputes which arose as to the legality of the grants for burning candles.

The estate was seized by the Crown as being “given to superstitious uses,” but it would seem that the bequests or some part thereof were added to the yearly grants to the minister and the result appears to be that the Church at Brentford still derives benefit from these ancient gifts.

Fuller particulars are given in *Thomas Faulkner's History and Antiquities of Brentford Ealing and Chiswick*, an earlier work published in 1845 and which may be seen in the British Museum Reading Room (B.M. 2065b). That book at p. 61 gives an illustration of the figures on the Brass monument and also records a full copy of Henry Redman's Will which begins thus:—

“In the name of God, Amen. The yere of our Lord God 1528 the first daye of the monthe of July I Henry Redman of West Brentford, fremason, in my right mynd and good helthe thanked be God. I make and ordayne this my last will in manner and forme following: first I bequethe my soule to Almyghtie God my maker and redeemer, to our Lady St. Mary and to all the holy companye of heaven; and my body to be buryed at the north syde of St. Lawrence quere there where the vestre would be made.”

Henry Redman's Will does not appear to have been proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury but Faulkner made his copy from one preserved in the Parish Chest.

Summing up the foregoing we find that Henry Redman was working on the nave of Westminster Abbey in 1516—in September 1519 he in conjunction with William Vertue was appointed master mason of the King's works at the Tower of London and elsewhere—in Michaelmas of the same year he acquired

or was confirmed in the ownership of certain land at Westbraynford (=Brentford)—in July 1520 he was made master mason of the King's works at Windsor. That he made his Will on 1st July 1528 therein describing himself as of West Brentford, *fremason*, and thereby directed his interment in the Choir of the Church of St. Lawrence at Brentford and had it in his heart to provide light for those he left behind. That an ancient brass memorial with figures and an interesting inscription describing him as Chief Master Mason of the King's work remains in the Porch of Brentford Church (the only old part of the building left) to this day and that the said Church derives benefit from his gift of land.

It may be added that in Faulkner's book before referred to he states (at page 66) that Henry Redman's gift was at the time he wrote mentioned thus in a list of Charities and Benefactions copied from the front of the galleries of the Church:—

"1529. Henry Redman and Joan his wife bequeathed to the Parishioners of Brentford a rent charge of Six pounds annually for ever issuing out of premises in this township."

(The gallery has been abolished and the list of Charities is now in the porch.)
page 74. In 1843 a report was made as to this Charity and six trustees thereof were then living.

Faulkner at page 66 describes the Bells and among them the oldest is:
6. "In old English letters round this bell is this inscription *Sancta Maria Ora Pro Nobis*. The Virgin Mary was the tutelar saint of John" (he should have said Henry) "Redman and this bell was no doubt presented "by him about the year 1520 so that it has occupied its present position "upwards of three centuries." (My readers will perhaps not be convinced as to the accuracy of the inference.) The Rev. C. Philpot Koelle, M.A., the Vicar of New Brentford, tells me that the Bell is still in the steeple and in use. An offer was made to give a new peal of bells in exchange for it, but it was refused. If Faulkner is right, Henry Redman by means of this Bell still speaks.

John Horne, Speculative Freemason.—Perhaps some who read the above note may visit Brentford and view Henry Redman's memorial brass. There is another item of Masonic interest in the Church, but this time the Masonry is speculative.

The Rev. John Horne 1736-1812 (who in 1782 added the surname of Tooke and is well known as the Author of "Diversions of Purley") was Minister of Brentford Church 1760-1773. His Father was Mr. John Horne a poulterer.

Particulars concerning the latter are to be found in *Q.C.A.* x. On 15th December 1730 he volunteered to be Steward for the Festival (page 137), but apparently Brother Chambers said that "the Stewards would not have such a Fellow amongst them," so the Lodge at the Crown & Sceptres, of which Bro. John Horne was Master, arranged to dine at their own Lodge on the Grand Feast day. (The quarrel was referred to a Committee). *Q.C.A.* x., 143-4.

At *Q.C.A.* x., p. 305, it is recorded (28 June 1738) that Bro^r. John Horne of Newport Market Poulterer was proposed to serve the office of Treasurer, "But great debates arising thereon and it being high twelve the Lodge was closed witht coming to any Determination."

(Brother John Jesse, who had previously been proposed by the Grand Master, was ultimately appointed.)

Returning to Brentford Church: Faulkner's book records:—

"On the floor of the Middle Aisle

"Mr. John Horne late of Newport Street St. Ann's Westminster died 11th of December 1766 aged 67."

Anne wife of the Rev. Charles Crane M.A. Rector of Stockton in the County of Warwick caused this inscription to the memory of her Grandfather to be restored in the year of our Lord 1812."

This gentleman was the Father of the Rev. John Horne the then minister. He reared and educated a family of seven children and realised a considerable fortune at the same time that he acquired a fair and honorable character for himself. He became a liberal subscriber to the Middlesex Hospital and such was his reputation for wealth and integrity that he was elected the first Treasurer of that excellent institution. (*Stephen's Life of J. Horne Tooke*, vol. 1, p. 10.)

Thus although Bro. John Horne's willingness to be Treasurer for Grand Lodge was frustrated he became Treasurer for an important Charity.

November, 1927.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

The Kirkwall Scroll.—Bro. Day's ingenious suggestion (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxviii., 213-222) that the height of the panels was reduced intentionally, as the skilful artist proceeded with his work, seems to be confirmed by the divisions in the border (to which Bro. Day draws attention on p. 214) at intervals of 37, 74, 111, 145 and 181 inches. These intervals are obviously approximate; but, if we suppose a reduction to have been made in the border corresponding to that of the panels, the intervals may have been intended to be 37, 74, 111, 148 and 185 inches. It is worth notice that these numbers are progressive multiples of 37: a number which is of prime importance in Greek gematria as being especially apparent in such names and phrases (in their Greek form) as *Jesus, Christos, Christ our Passover, Son of Man, Saviour of the world, Head of the corner*, etc. Further information on this subject must be sought in *The Cabala in Coptic Gnostic Books* by Bligh Bond and Dr. Lea; though Bro. Dr. Perry and I have collected many additional instances to those which they give.

As regards Bro. Day's references to Hebrew letters occurring on the Scroll just a word or two should be added. Bro. Day, in examining Panel 1 (*vide* p. 215), is correct in saying that the characters there cannot be intended for 1771, but for a Divine Name—which, however, is not *Elohim* (as Bro. Day suggests) but the Tetragrammaton IHVH. The letters in the star at the top right-hand corner of Panel 2 are not Hebrew but probably cypher characters. Those in the lower part of the double triangle seem to be intended for ADONAI. I fail to understand Bro. Day's assertion (on p. 218), in criticism of Bro. Adrianyi's statement (*A.Q.C.* x., 193) that the cypher letters above the R.A. altar in Panel 6 represent the expression "Holiness to the Lord," when he (Bro. Day) says "the Hebrew" (for that expression) "would show 14 letters." Surely Bro. Day must have meant 8.

January, 1928.

W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

As to the article of Bro. Day in the last *Transactions*, I am unable to believe that there could be found another sense by decyphering, and that the letters are a simple rendering of the *English* phrase "Holiness to the Lord," the word *holiness* being written with only one *s*. There are three cyphers in the shape of a Latin T (the 2nd, 9th and 14th) corresponding to the places where in the above phrase the vowel *o* occurs. Also the compass shaped letters 1 and 11 fit exactly the phrase when substituted by *h*, and also the cyphers for *e* are on their exact places in the words *holines* and *the*. The only objection possible would be that *e* and *s*, as well as *l* and *r*, are very much like each other, but this may be attributed either to chirographical errors which frequently occur in cyphered documents, or to some resemblances of the respective cyphers which escaped the attention of the painter of the Scroll. I believe that Bro. Day has wrongly understood my rendering when trying to find out the identity of the cyphers with the letters of the Hebrew words *Ahjah asher Ehjah* (I am that I am) and that if he will consider again the matter by writing the letters *Holines to the Lord* under the letters 1—16 of the cyphered inscription, he will admit the correctness of my opinion.

January, 1928.

EMILE ADRIANYI-PONTET.

The Duke of Norfolk, G.M., 1730-1731.—While looking through some early files of the *Norwich Gazette*, or *Crossgrove's News*, I came across four paragraphs giving information, as to Masonic happenings, during the period that His Grace the Duke of Norfolk was Grand Master. Most of them relate to the doings of the Grand Master. As I deem all Newspaper extracts, relating to Freemasonry during the early years of Grand Lodge, of importance to the Masonic Student, I have extracted these paragraphs, hoping that they may be of some slight value, and add to the sum total of our Masonic knowledge.

The first extract appears in the London Letter of the *Norwich Gazette*, dated 3rd January, 1730, part of the general news headed "Monday, January 5, 1730." It reads as follows:—

"On Saturday last was a Meeting at the Devil-Tavern at Temple-Bar of Free and Accepted Masons, when the Masters and Wardens of several Lodges were assembled to chuse a Grand Master for the Year insuing; and His Grace the Duke of Norfolk was elected accordingly into that great Office."

This extract refers to the Quarterly Communication held on Saturday, 27th December, 1729, presided over by Nathaniel Blackerby, the D.G.M., in the absence of the Grand Master, Lord Kingston. Thirty-two Lodges were represented at that Meeting. The extract does not call for any special comment, and is only given to show that the London correspondent to the *Norwich Gazette* was correct in all the details of his information. (*Q.C.A.* x., 110-116.)

The next extract is considerably longer and deals, not only with the Duke of Norfolk, but also with a Meeting of the Lodge at the Horn Tavern, Westminster. It occurs in the London Letter of the *Norwich Gazette*, dated 7th February, 1730, part of the general news headed, "Monday, February 9th," and tells us:—

"There was last Night at the Horn-Tavern in Westminster a Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons, the Duke of Richmond presiding as Master of the Lodge, when the Duke of Grafton was admitted and sworn a Member of that Antient and Honourable Society. The Duke of Norfolk Grand Master, and the rest of the said Society have taken up the whole Pit and Boxes of the Theatre in Drury-Lane for next Thursday, when the Play of K. Henry IV. whose Son was a Free-Mason, is to be acted, and all the Members are to appear in White Gloves and White Aprons."

With regard to this Meeting at the Horn Tavern we learn that Charles FitzRoy, 2nd Duke of Grafton, became a member of the Craft. His Grace was born in 1682, and succeeded to the Dukedom in 1690. At the time that he was admitted into the Fraternity he was Lord Chamberlain to the Household of His Majesty King George II. The Meeting took place, according to the Newspaper, on Friday, February 6th, 1730. From the Engraved Lists, both before and after this date, the regular day of Meeting is shown as the 3rd Friday. It is, however, worth noting that the Lodge met, under the Mastership of the Duke of Richmond, on the first Friday in the preceding month. This fact I have taken from Bro. Wonnacott, who states, "Amongst the Duke's initiates was Charles the 5th Earl of Sunderland, made in the Horn Lodge on the 2nd January, 1730. (*A.Q.C.* xxx., 178.) It may, therefore, be that, by this date, the Lodge had changed its day of Meeting, although the alteration had not been made in the Engraved Lists. Another point worth noting is the use of the expression "admitted and sworn." This expression tallies with the "sworn and admitted" and "admitted and sworn," which appear in the Records (1712-1730) of the York Grand Lodge. (*A.Q.C.* xiii., 11-16.) It is a little surprising that the term "made a Freemason" was not used, and rather suggests that the information was supplied by a Freemason, or was officially inspired.

With regard to the second portion of the paragraph, I cannot find that the visit of the Duke of Norfolk to the Theatre at Drury Lane has been

previously recorded. From the Grand Lodge Minutes of the General Meeting and Quarterly Communication, held on the 27th December, 1728, we learn that the Duke of Norfolk's predecessor, Lord Kingston, had bespoke a Play, and we also know that he attended this Play with many Brethren within a week of being installed as Grand Master. (*Q.C.A. x.*, 96.) On that occasion the question was raised as to whether the Brethren "should appear in their full cloathing," and it was decided that the Brethren "should come in white gloves without Aprons." The Duke of Norfolk, apparently, copied his immediate predecessor, and took an early opportunity of attending the Theatre in London with the Brethren. The Brethren, however, seem to have got over the qualms they previously had as to appearing in Aprons. The Play bespoke was the same as that of the previous year. The addition of the words, "whose Son was a Free-Mason" is a little curious. In the First Edition of the Book of Constitutions (1723), while claiming Henry VI. as a Member of the Fraternity, neither his Father, nor Grandfather, are mentioned by Anderson. It was not until the Second Edition of the Book of Constitutions (1738), that so many of the Kings of England (including Henry IV. and Henry V.) were claimed as Freemasons.

The third extract, of Masonic interest, occurs in the London Letter of the *Norwich Gazette*, dated August 20th, 1730. The paragraph is:—

"We hear that some Gentlemen returned lately from France amongst other things say, That His Most Christian Majesty had been made a FREE-MASON, in the usual Forms, by the Duke of Norfolk Grand Master of the Society; and that His Majesty hardly ever appeared more merry, than he did at that Ceremony. What has been published this Week about the Discovery of the Secrets of Free Masonry, is all Trifling and Spurious."

The King of France, at this date, was King Louis XV., who was born in 1710, and came to the French Throne at the age of five. In 1730 the King would have been about twenty years of age. Officially the King came of age as soon as he celebrated his thirteenth birthday, and, therefore, the fact that he was not twenty-one was, doubtless, overlooked or, more probably, ignored. I have not been able to obtain any facts corroborating the statement in the extract, and the truth of it must be accepted with reserve. The final sentence of the paragraph plainly refers to "the Mystery of Free-Masonry," printed in the *Daily Journal* on the 15th August, 1730. It is dealt with in the Minutes of the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, which was held on the 28th August, 1730. (*Q.C.A. x.*, 128.) The sentence reads as if it was officially inspired, and this, perhaps, adds to the value of the earlier, but unsupported, statements.

The last extract appeared in the London Letter of the *Norwich Gazette*, dated 29th December, 1730. It states:—

"His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master of the Antient and Honourable Order of Free-Masons, has presented to the Brotherhood upwards of £100 in order to buy a handsome Sword of State (which is to cost about £40 and to be used at the Head Lodge at their Making) a large Folio Book for entring the Names of all the Brothers belonging to the several Lodges, and for other Uses."

The Gifts by the Duke of Norfolk are referred to in the Minutes of the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held on the 29th January, 1731. (*Q.C.A. x.*, 140.) The Newspaper account does not quite tally with the account appearing in the Grand Lodge Minutes, and further evidence would be welcome, on one side or the other, so as to arrive at the true facts.

GILBERT W. DAYNES.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

John Baker, F.C.A., of Maidenhead, on 4th December, 1925. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner in Grand Chapter. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1916.

Noel Leslie Holm Biss, of Auckland, N.Z., in 1925. Bro. Biss had held office as Dis.G.D.C., as well as that of Grand Standard Bearer, in New Zealand; and he was Sc.E. of the Auckland Chapter No. 1338. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1914.

John Potter Briscoe, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S., of Nottingham, on 7th January, 1926. Our Brother was P.M. of Newstead Lodge No. 47 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1909.

Sir Henry Campbell, Kt., of Newry, Co. Down, on 7th March, 1924. Bro. Campbell was a member of Lodge XXV. and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.

Arthur W. Chapman, of London, on 10th February, 1926. Our Brother was a P.Pr.G.W. of West Yorks., and P.Z. of Columbia Chapter No. 2397. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1906.

Dr. Reginald S. Orme Dudfield, M.A., of Rickmansworth. He was a member of St. Mary Abbott's Lodge No. 1974, and joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1898.

Enrique Ferrer, of London, on 28th November, 1925. Bro. Ferrer acted as Asst. Sec. for his Lodge Temperance in the East No. 898, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1916.

Eugene Charles William Emil Fox, of Yokohama, in June, 1925. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and was P.Z. of the Yokohama Chapter No. 1092. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1910.

Richard Hanson Griffiths, of Sutton Coldfield, on 2nd December, 1925. Bro. Griffiths had held the offices of Pr.A.G.Sec. and Pr.G.So. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

Edward Llewellyn Gwillim, of Marlborough, on 18th December, 1925. Our Brother was J.W. of the Loyalty Lodge No. 1533 and P.So. of the Chapter attached thereto. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1914.

Arthur J. Hawes, of Hove, on 2nd December, 1925. Bro. Hawes was P.M. of the Royal Albert Hall Lodge No. 2986, and P.Z. of the Stockwell Chapter No. 1339. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1916.

Dr. Wallace Ellwood Haworth, C.M., B.Sc., of Salisbury, Rhodesia, in March, 1926, through a motor accident. He was a P.M. of the Manica Lodge No. 2678 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1899.

Tom Hinds, of London. Our Brother was P.M. of the Mizpah Lodge No. 1671, and he joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1905.

Philip Johns, of Windsor, on 3rd October, 1925. Bro. Johns held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. and P.Pr.G.So. (Bucks.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1913.

Samuel Kirkpatrick, of Nelson, N.Z., on 21st May, 1925. Our Bro. Kirkpatrick had held the office of Dep.Dis.G.M. and Dis.G.So., Westland and Nelson. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1897.

W. Melville Llewellyn, of Weston-super-Mare, in 1926. He was a member of Alleyn Lodge No. 2647, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1902.

George William Lofthouse, of Liverpool, in 1926. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1906.

Archibald Wilson McLean, of Tokio, in December, 1925. Bro. McLean had held office as Dis.G.D.C., and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1910.

Rev. **Harry Chamberlain Meserve**, of Boston, Mass., on 22nd October, 1925. Our Brother was a member of Springfield Lodge and of the Morning Star Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

W. L. Mildren, of Barrow-in-Furness, on 19th January, 1926. Bro. Mildren had held office as Pr.G.Sup.W. and Pr.G.D.C. (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1905.

H. Campin Monteith, of Ipswich, on 6th December, 1925. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.J. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1898.

Major **John Rose**, of London, on 17th January, 1926. Bro. Rose was a P.M. of the Elthorne and Middlesex Lodge No. 2094, and he joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1905.

Clinton P. Russell, of Dallas, Texas, on 9th December, 1925. Our Brother held the office of Grand Chaplain and was P.H.P. of Chapter No. 47. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1915.

George Lawrence Shackles, of Hornsea, on 4th February, 1926. Bro. Shackles had held office as Pr.G.W. and Pr.G.R. (R.A.) of N. & E. Yorkshire, and in 1923 was honoured with the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in Grand Lodge and Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He was a Past Master of the Q.C. Lodge, to which he was elected to membership in May, 1897, having joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1887. From 1888 until the time of his death he had acted as Local Secretary for the Province of N. & E. Yorkshire.

Frederick William Sutcliffe, of Manchester, on 2nd July, 1925. Bro. Sutcliffe had held office as Pr.G.Pt., East Lancashire, and was P.Z. of the Wisdom Chapter No. 283. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917.

Leonard George Tate, of London, on 24th January, 1926. Our Brother held London Rank as a P.M. of St. Clement Danes Lodge No. 1351, and he was a member of Mount Sinai Chapter No. 19. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1904.

William Webb, of London, on 21st January, 1926. Bro. Webb was a member of the Harrow Lodge No. 1310, and he joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Lucas Whitaker, of Leeds, on 24th January, 1926. Our Brother was P.M. of the Allerton Lodge No. 3047 and H. of Alfred Chapter No. 306. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

W. J. SONGHURST, *F.O.I.S.*, *P.G.D.*

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON W.C.2

≡ Ars ≡ Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
 QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY, W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.

VOLUME XXXIX.—PART 2.

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W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.
 1928.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising thereon to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The Transactions of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The St. John's Card is a symbolic plate, conveying a greeting to the members, and is issued on or about the 27th December of each year. It forms the frontispiece to a list of the members of the Lodge and of the Correspondence Circle, with their Masonic rank and addresses, and is of uniform size with the Transactions with which it is usually bound up as an appendix.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed Transactions of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—The St. John's Card is sent to them annually.

4.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

5.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

6.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no qualification, literary, artistic, or scientific. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the Transactions previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

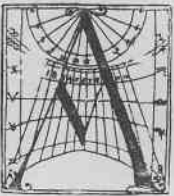
Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—By the payment in one sum of Twelve years' Subscription in advance, i.e., six guineas, individual Brethren may qualify as Life Members of the Correspondence Circle. Corporate Bodies may qualify as Life Members by a similar payment of Twenty-five years' Subscription. Expulsion from the Craft naturally entails a forfeiture of Membership in the Correspondence Circle, and the Lodge also reserves to itself the full power of excluding any Correspondence Member whom it may deem to be Masonically (or otherwise) unworthy of continued membership.

FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1926.



MEETING was held at Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London, W.C., at 5 p.m.

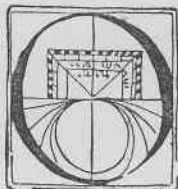
There were present the following Brethren:—W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D.; Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, P.A.G.Ch.; Major-General J. D. McLachlan, G.S.B.; L. F. Dunnett, P.A.G.St.B.; S. W. Rodgers, P.G.Stew.; G. C. Parkhurst Baxter; John I. Moar; W. J. Williams; Geo. P. Simpson; G. W. South; Hy. G. Gold; H. A. Matheson; Major C. W. de Roemer; H. A. Bainbridge, Security Lodge No. 354 (U.G.L.Vic.); and H. Gould, Knightsbridge Lodge No. 2978.

Apologies for absence were noted from Bros. S. T. Klein, H. C. de Lafontaine, H. Poole, C. Powell, L. Vibert, J. E. S. Tuckett, W. W. Covey-Crump, J. Stokes, G. Norman, Gordon P. G. Hills, R. H. Baxter, J. Heron Lepper, Gilbert W. Daynes, and other Brethren who were unable to attend owing to dislocation of traffic caused by the General Strike.

The SECRETARY read a paper by Bro. Arthur Heiron entitled "Masters' Lodges," and the Brethren expressed their thanks to him. Comments on the paper were made by or on behalf of the following Brethren:—F. W. Golby, L. Vibert, W. W. Covey-Crump, W. J. Songhurst, W. J. Williams, J. D. McLachlan, G. Freeman Irwin, J. Heron Lepper, and G. W. Bullamore.

MASTERS' LODGES.

BY BRO. ARTHUR HEIRON, L.R., P.M. 18.



ON a subject so abstruse and involved as the question of the origin, purpose and use of so-called *Masters' Lodges*, the writer does not suggest that he will be able to give a final and conclusive opinion, but he does trust that a perusal of the following statements may add a little extra light on what is undoubtedly rather a thorny problem.

The fact that since Bro. Lane in 1888 (thirty-eight years ago) wrote his valued article in *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., pp. 167-178, entitled "Masters' Lodges," no other student, I believe, has ventured to discuss the matter at length, leads one to think, either that the subject is too difficult or obscure, or else that everything has been said about the matter that is worthy of consideration—but various old records have been investigated since Bro. Lane wrote his views in 1888, and many of my observations are based on original extracts taken from Minute Books dating far back into the eighteenth century.

Lane's Masonic Records, 1717-1894.

The following is a list of most of the Masters' Lodges taken from the above source:—

No.		Constituted.	Modern.	A Masters' Lodge.
2	Antiquity	1717	M	1760-1769
12	Fortitude & Old Cumberland	1723	M	1803-1813
20	Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity	1723	M	1738-1739
39 in	"Swan & Rummer,"			
1729	Finch Lane, London			
	Lapsed in 1751	1726	M	1738-1739
68 in	"Golden Spikes,"			
1730	Hampstead, London			
	Erased 1742	1730	M	1736-1739
69 in	"King Henry 8th's Head,"			
1730	Fleet Street, London			
	Erased 1775	1730	M	1753-1775
76 in	"White Bear,"			
1730	Golden Square, London			
	Now No. 16	1730	M	1736-1739
89 in	"Black Boy,"			
1732	Clare Market, London			
	Erased 1745	1732	M	1739
116 in	"Bear & Harrow,"			
1733	Butcher Row, London			
	Erased 1736	1733	M	1733-1736

No.		Constituted.	Modern.	A Masters' Lodge.
117 in A 1734	"King's Arms," Strand, London Lapsed 1735	1733	M	1734
120 in 1733	"Bates Coffee House," Lincolns Inn Fields, London Erased 1736	1733	M	?1733-1736
123 in 1733	"King's Arms," Gt. Wild St., London Erased 1745	1733	M	1738
46	Old Union Lodge	1735	M	1738-1739
55	Constitutional	1736	M	1738
151 in 1736	"Black Dog," Seven Dials, London Ceased working 1789	1736	M	1736-1739
152 in 1736	"Blossoms Inn," Lawrence Lane, Cheapside, London. Erased 1769	1736	M	1738-1739
158 in 1737	"Westminster Hall Tavern," Bishopsgate St., London Erased 1748	1737	M	1739
163 in 1737	"Swan," Covent Garden, London Ceased 1801	1737	M	1738-1739
169 in 1738	"Bacchus," Little Bush Lane, Cannon St., London. Erased 1745	1738	M	1738
187 in 1739	"Lodge of Sincerity," London Ceased working 1820	1739	M	1799-1813
188 in 1739	"Peace and Plenty," London Erased 1830	1739	M	1792-1813
183 in 1740	"Lodge of Prudence," London Erased 1800	1740	M	1792-1799
94	"Phoenix," Sunderland	1755	M	1780-1813
249 in 1756	Charles Town, South Carolina, U.S.A. Erased 1813	1756	M	1760-1813
232 in 1758	"Lodge of Unity," Plymouth Lapsed 1803	1758	M	1769-1803
105	"Lodge of Fortitude," Plymouth	1759	M	1780-1781
258 in 1761	"Golden Lion," Leeds, Yorkshire Erased 1786	1761	M	1762-1785

No.		Constituted.	Modern.	A Masters' Lodge.
279 in A 1762	On Board 'H.M. Ship' the Prince at Plymouth, Devonshire. Lapsed about 1765 [Thomas Dunckerley's Lodge]	1762	M	1764-1766
174	"Sincerity"	1768	M	1793-1795
197	"Jerusalem"	1771	M	1792-1813
202	"Friendship"	1771	M	1771-1808
263	"Bank of England"	1788	M	1802-1813

It will be noted that all the above mentioned Lodges are on the side of the *Moderns*; as far as I know, no *Antient* Lodge ever held a *Masters' Lodge*. According to Lane, Masters' Lodges commenced as early as 1733 and existed as late as 1813; my own view—as will be seen later on—is that at first they were used merely for the purpose of working the 3°; later on, the degree of Holy Royal Arch was worked (in some cases *secretly*, because the G.L. of the *Moderns* forbade any open reference to the subject), and perhaps eventually they were utilised for still higher degrees, but this is rather problematical. By the courtesy of Bro. Alexander Gilchrist (a P.M. of No. 263) I inspected the records of the Bank of England Lodge, and it is clear that from 1802 to 1813 they held no genuine Masters' Lodges at all—in the true sense of the words—but when their Lodge was merely opened and working in the 3°, it was their custom to describe it as a Masters' Lodge! After the Union in 1813 all Masters' Lodges finally disappeared, for it then became essential that for the future the degree of Holy Royal Arch should be conferred only in Chapters quite separate from any Craft Lodge.

Lane tells us that there were also three Masters' Lodges in the American Colonies, viz.:—

1. A Masters' Lodge in Boston, U.S.A. in 1738
2. do. in Newport do. in 1759
3. do. in Albany do. in 1768

The reason why the *Antients* held no Masters' Lodges seems rather obvious, for when their G.L. commenced, in 1751, the 3° was fairly well known and they worked it in their Craft Lodges as a matter of course, whilst they also regularly gave R. Arch as a 4°; there was, therefore, no occasion for them to make use of such an institution.

Now, although Bro. Lane was a great Masonic student and obtained most of his information from the Engraved Lists, yet he made several important omissions, for he did not include in his lengthy list of Masters' Lodges various Craft Lodges, which had for many years also held—or, at any rate, had working in close association with them—certain institutions known as Masters' Lodges; I refer especially to *two* very old Craft Lodges, viz.:—

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. The Dundee Lodge, No. 9, at Wapping. | Const. 1723. |
| and | |
| 2. The Kings Arms Lodge, No. 43, in the Strand. | 1723. |

Doubtless there also existed at various dates many other Masters' Lodges, but concerning these I leave other students to supply any interesting and useful details. Bro. Lane, for instance, in 1888 told us that there were four Masters' Lodges who (1) never paid for a Charter or Constitution, (2) had no date of

Constitution recorded, and (3) never attended G. Lodge or paid any fees thereto. The explanation, I believe, is that these Lodges were composed of certain expert Masons who sometimes formed a Masters' Lodge on their own account—quite independent of any Craft Lodge—and that these Brethren who had learnt how to work the 3° were quite willing to Raise any Fellow Craft (duly vouched for) to the *High Degree of a Master*, provided only that he paid the Raising Fee of 5s. 0d., which was usually set apart for the *Entertainment of the Masters*.

To-night I propose (*inter alia*) to discuss certain information that has to a great extent been obtained from a perusal of the above-mentioned two ancient Lodges. But, to begin the argument, let me first state what I assume we all agree upon, viz., that the primary object of the creation of Masters' Lodges was to *Raise Masters*. This almost of necessity leads one to make a few remarks as to the origin of the early degrees in Masonry; the writer, however, only proposes to touch on this aspect of the subject very lightly—it is far beyond his ken, and students will find that Bro. Lionel Vibert, the Prestonian Lecturer for 1925 and 1926, has made this theme his special study.

Raising Masters (No. 1).

If there is one thing more certain than another in the early history of the Craft it is that in 1717—the date when the First Grand Lodge of the world was constituted—the ceremony of *Raising a Master*, or the working of what we now generally understand as the 3°, was practically unknown. It is, of course, impossible for any one—still less a humble Craftsman as the present essayist—to dogmatise on the early Rituals of the Craft in those far-off days, but he feels he is on rather safe ground when he ventures to suggest that the members of the “four Old Lodges”—who met together at “the Assembly and Feast of the Free and Accepted Masons” at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house in St. Paul's Churchyard on St. John the Baptist's Day 1717—were merely Fellow Craft Masons and that not one of them had ever been *Raised a Master*. In most cases they desired no further degree, for in their midst were various old fashioned Operative Masons who would not countenance or approve of any innovation in, or addition to, the working they and their fore-fathers had for so long been accustomed to. The following well-known episode ought to be sufficient evidence on this point. Dr. Wm. Stukeley, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and one who deserves some credence, tells us in his *Common Place Book* that he was Initiated into the Craft in 1721 at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock Street, London, W., and he makes this interesting comment, viz.:—“I was the first person made a free-mason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony [*i.e.*, of Initiation, or the first two Degrees]. Immediately after that it [*i.e.*, the Craft] took a run and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of members.” Allowing for exaggeration in the above statement—doubtless owing to difficulty in obtaining reliable information on the subject—it seems fairly certain that in 1721 most of the members of the Craft knew but little about their Ritual and obviously were completely ignorant of the complicated and more advanced degree of a Master Mason.

Two degrees only in 1721.

Now John, Duke of Montague, became G.M. in 1721, and it is reasonable to believe that his advent into the Craft brought in many others—surely if Freemasonry could thus attract a noble Duke, it was good enough for the rank and file—and this may explain, to some extent, the eagerness to join the Craft referred to by Dr. Stukeley; the approaching advent of the 3° also would contribute to the same end. • Now up to this period (1721) I venture to suggest that only two Degrees were worked in a Craft Lodge, viz., the Entered Apprentice and the Fellow Craft *both given on the same night*, and when that joint ceremony was completed the Candidate was for all purposes a Fellow Craft

Freemason, or, in the recognised language of those days, he had in truth and in fact been *Made a Mason*.

The "Fellow Craft."

In the early days of Freemasonry the degree of a Fellow Craft—originally described as a "Fellow of the Craft"—was almost equivalent to the Master Mason of 1926. As good evidence of this we read in Dr. Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 that when a New Lodge was to be Constituted, the Candidate selected by the Grand Master for the Master's Chair was at that period only a Fellow Craft Mason, the words used are *being yet among the Fellow-Craft*, surely if the G.M. could have found a Brother who had been *Raised Master* he would have selected him as being more skilled than a mere Fellow Craft. The above statement seems to justify one in saying that in 1723 there were very few—if any—Brethren who had attained a higher degree than that of Fellow Craft.

It has often been suggested by various experts that when the 3° was in the process of construction, or, at any rate, during its subsequent development and improvement, a portion of the Ritual was taken from the degree of a Fellow Craft and incorporated into that of the new degree of a Master Mason. This does, indeed, seem feasible, for many workers of the Ritual often express surprise at the meagre and quite inadequate ceremony of the 2°—it occurs to most of us that it has been emasculated and shortened—and it is also more than possible that in early days some portion of the degree of a Mark Mason was included in the 2°, for there is much in the Mark degree that reminds us of the old *Operative* days and the life of those manual workers in the Craft from whom we all (*i.e.*, the *Speculatives* of 1926) derive our origin. It seems obvious, therefore, that originally this degree of a Fellow Craft was considered as important as the 3° of a Master Mason.

Extract from the *Antient Charges* contained in the latest Book of Constitutions, 1922:—

"No Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a *fellow-Craft*, nor a Master until he has acted as a Warden, nor Grand Master unless he has been a *fellow-craft* before his election."

Note.—Apparently even to-day it is not, therefore, absolutely essential that the Grand Master should have been Raised a Master Mason, it seems sufficient if he has attained to the dignity of a Fellow Craft. Bro. Vibert referred to this item in his Prestonian Lecture.

Even to-day, in spite of the various alterations enforced upon the Craft by the Lodge of Reconciliation, which—in trying to please both sides (the 'Moderns' and the 'Antients')—produced by way of a compromise a depleted and weakened ritual (one shorn of many of its interesting features), yet it is still apparent that traces have been left of the former importance of the Fellow Craft's Degree. For instance, in 1926 (1) the necessary questions are still put to the M. Elect (and he also takes his obligation) in a Lodge opened in the 2°, whilst he continues to exhibit the sign of a Fellow Craft. Why is this work not done in a Master Mason's Lodge, when only Master Masons are present: surely it seems more consistent that these important items of the Ritual should be performed whilst the Lodge is opened in the 3°? Again (2) the Working Tools of a F.C. are the most important known to a Mason, *viz.*, the S., L., and P.R. These are now the Jewels allocated to the Master and his Wardens, but originally they were specifically identified with and belonged to the Fellow Craft.

1st and 2nd Degrees conferred jointly.

Now it is very interesting to note that from the earliest days after the formation of Gd. Lodge the 1° and 2° were invariably given to the Candidate on the same evening, and when they had been duly and jointly conferred upon

him he was, to all intents and purposes, a Free-Mason. This good old custom was regularly—I might almost say religiously—observed by the Dundee Lodge No. 9 at Wapping, who right up to 1809 conferred both Degrees on the Candidate on the same night. The following extracts from their Minutes prove this.

“Making Masons” and “Raising Masters”
in the Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Craft Lodge.

- 1748, Feb. 23. “Bro. Dormer Propos’d Eben^r. Hough to be Made a Mason in this Lodge, 2nd. by Bro. Clark, 3rd. 4th. &c, &c, and he was accordingly Made for which Honour he paid 2 Guineas. This Night Bro. Thompson and Bro. Peter Oliver were *Rais’d Masters* for which Honours they paid five shillings each.”
- 1748, March 9. “Bro. Eben^r. Hough was *Rais’d Master* for which Honour he paid five shillings.”
- 1808, Nov. 24. “Mr. Dennis Francis Humbert was this Night Balloted and Accepted and Initiated into the *first and Second Degrees* of Masonry, for which Honour he paid the usual sum of £3.13.6.”
- 1808, Dec. 8. “Bro. D. F. Humbert was this Night *Raised* to the third Degree of a Master Mason.”

Now the Time Immemorial Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1 [now No. 2] also gave the 1^o and 2^o jointly to the Candidate *on the same night* until in 1777 they ‘fell from grace’ and under the advice and influence of their strong-willed Master, Bro. William Preston, endeavoured to give these two degrees on separate evenings. Listen to this extract from the Minutes of Antiquity Lodge, No. 1, then meeting at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet Street.

Antiquity Lodge, No. 1.

1777, Dec. 3. “The Lodge was opened in due form &c.”

“Br. [John] Noorthouck moved that *no Person shall be initiated into more than the first Degree of Masonry on the first night of his reception*: This Motion being duly Seconded the question was put & passed unanimously. Resolved that *Publick Notice* be given of this Regulation in such manner as the Master shall think most Expedient for the *Information of other Lodges*.”

1778, Jan. 7. “Mitre Tavern.” “Mr. John Thompson . . . was regularly admitted into the *first degree of Masonry* agreeable to the Bye Laws and a Motion was made by Bro. [William] Preston that he be *past into the Second Degree at our next Meeting*.”

Note.—The Minutes of 3rd Dec., 1777, were signed by their Master, that well-known Masonic Lecturer and Worker, Bro. William Preston, who ought to have known better! Doubtless Antiquity sent a Circular to the chief Lodges in London—on the ‘Modern’ side—urging them to agree to the proposed change of working, and as the Dundee Lodge, No. 9, was then meeting (in its own freehold) at Wapping—only three miles away—the members of that Lodge would receive the notice, but, in spite of this, No. 9 at Wapping refused to accept such advice and continued the old and original method of Making a Mason by conferring on the Candidate the first two Degrees *on the same night*; in fact, they did this right up to 1809.

How do the present members of ‘Antiquity’ justify this lapse from their ancient traditions and this resort to what was nothing less than a clear Innovation in the Ritual? Preston’s motive may have been that he desired the Lodge to give more time to the working of his new system of Lectures composed by him in 1772; and he may well have thought that if only one degree was worked at a time, the beauties of his Lectures would be more appreciated and thereby cast a halo of glory round his head! This new plan of his was *not* at first very popular, for Preston had some strong opponents even in his own Lodge, of whom perhaps the chief was Bro. Wm. Rigge, who evidently did not approve this alteration in the old Ritual, for, read this item in their Minutes:—

1778, Feb. 4th. 18 Members and 6 Visitors present.

"Bro. [William] Rigge moved that we do for the future initiate every Gentleman into the two first Degrees of Masonry *on the same night*. Seconded by Bro. [Charles] Le Caan, Ordered That this Alteration in the Bye Laws be ballotted for agreeable to the Eleventh Article."

Soon after this the long threatened trouble in the Lodge of Antiquity came to a head, and in 1779 G. Lodge formally expelled William Preston, Benjn. Bradley and other of Preston's friends. Certain members of Antiquity, however, declined to join Preston in his defiance of G. Lodge, and continued to meet as a Lodge under its former jurisdiction, so that at one period there were actually two Lodges of Antiquity in existence in London; after ten years' opposition Preston and his followers admitted the error of their ways, and G. Lodge restored them to their former privileges, and harmony once more prevailed.

When the 2nd volume of the History of Antiquity, No. 1, is published we shall, perhaps, know the exact date when this famous Lodge altered its Ritual and ceased *finally* to confer the two first Degrees on the same night; personally, I believe this occurred in 1792.

Will some student now kindly tell us if any old Lodge (other than No. 9 at Wapping), when they Made a Mason, continued to confer on the Candidate the two Degrees jointly *on the same night*, so late as 1809?

The Third Degree.

Now the leaders of the movement in those early days who desired and looked for a great future for the Craft—which at this period was very limited in numbers—now realised that such a limited Ritual as the first two Degrees would never appeal to a world-wide audience, and thus they conceived the brilliant idea of elaborating the Ritual, and gradually we hear or read of the Degree of a Master Mason being evolved. This new Degree of *Raising a Master* was not entirely invented by its sponsors, who, doubtless, included the various luminaries of the Craft, such as Drs. Desaguliers and Anderson, George Payne (twice a Grand Master) and others, for they had excellent material, such as the Hiramic legend, to weave into and form a basis for their plan.

Be that as it may, it is reasonable to believe that this important—may I say religious?—addition to our Ritual (emphasizing as it does the solemn fact of Death, as the great leveller of all men, and yet closing with a glorious hope of Immortality) had a great deal to do with the increased interest that at this period was now evidently being taken in the Craft and its future development.

This 3°—as now worked—so impressed Bro. Edwin Booth, a distinguished Mason (but best known to most of us as a great American actor) that he declared that:

"he had never met tragedy so real, so sublime, so magnificent as the legend of Hiram . . . To be a Worshipful Master and to throw my whole soul into that work, with the Candidate for my audience and the Lodge for my stage would be a greater personal distinction than to receive the plaudits of people in the theaters of the world."

(Bro. Fort Newton in *The Builders*, p. 197.)

It is difficult to state the exact date when the 3° was first introduced to the Craft, but, apparently, it must have been prior to 1725, for a certain Musical Society, described for short as the Philo-Musicæ Society, that met as a *Lodge* at the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, was working three distinct degrees in 1724, including that of *Passing Masters*.

The 3° at first unpopular.

It is very interesting to note that what we in these days describe and rightly consider as the *Sublime Degree of a Master Mason*, when it was first introduced did not receive a hearty welcome from the then existing Craft Lodges; shall we for the moment assume that this new Degree was either evolved or else originally invented about the year 1725 as generally suggested? Well, it is obvious that at first only a few Masonic experts could be familiar with its

working, and when those in authority began to suggest to the Craft Lodges that this new Degree should be accepted and worked, difficulties immediately arose. How could a mere Fellow Craft be expected to know how to work such a strange and novel degree? The only method of Masonic instruction in those days was by means of Lectures, often called *Examinations*, whereby through a series of Questions and Answers the Brethren became familiar with the work, but this 3° was much more than a mere ceremony, it was, indeed, a Drama in the truest sense of the word, and in those early days was enacted in full force and most likely with some degree of frightfulness; at any rate, many Brethren declined to receive it, stating they were quite content to remain 'Fellow Craft' Masons; and considered that a degree that was good enough for their ancestors was sufficiently satisfactory for them. They were days when superstition abounded, and one can appreciate that to many a rough, uneducated man at this period the contemplation of emblems of Mortality—very vivid and much more crude and realistic in those early days—would inspire feelings of awe and not of appreciation; and these thoughts may have kept many F. Craft from applying to be Raised Master Masons. That such sentiments may have prevailed, say, from 1725 to 1745, amongst our Masonic ancestors is quite feasible: as a proof of this I recently received a letter from a well-known American Mason—a keen student—who states that they "have a story current about a Lodge in New York City which works in the Italian language and has a Ritual which is apparently *so terrifying* that many of the impressionable and temperamental Italians never return for their second and third degrees," and this was said in 1925! Personally, I believe that the fear of the ordeal through which they believed they would have to pass prevented many a F. Craft in those early days from coming forward as a Candidate for the 3°. Another consideration—not to be overlooked—was that the usual Raising Fee was 5s. 0d.; now a F.C. might very well have asked, Why spend this large sum for a Degree that did not appeal to him, and in a sense appeared quite unnecessary, for he was already in the true sense of the word a complete Mason? This sum of 5s. 0d. would have purchased for him no less than five bottles of Red Port! However, be the reasons what they may, it is certain that at first the 3° was not at all popular, neither was it sought after by the F. Crafts of that period.

Raising Fee of 5s. 0d.

Extract from the Bye-Laws [1760] of the
Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping.

"17th." [Bye-Law.] "Every Fellow Craft when *Passed Master* shall pay 5s. for the Use of Lodge, etc., and if any Brother Made a Mason in or being a Member of This Lodge be *Passed Master* in any other Lodge, he shall Nevertheless pay 5s. for the Use of This Lodge."

Note.—There was not the slightest necessity nor compulsion therefore in 1760 for any F. Craft member to be *Raised a Master*, but if he took this Degree he had to pay 5s. 0d. In 1760 Antiquity, No. 1, also charged a 5s. 0d. Fee for *Raising to the Honourable Degree of a Master Mason*.

The Scald-Miserable-Masons.

In 1742 some Renegade Mason wrote an article in a public newspaper called *The Westminster Journal*, which was intended to be a parody of the Craft and is a fair proof that in those far-off days our Brethren were often subject to ridicule and contumely from friends who were outside the pale of Masonry. I reproduce it here because some useful information can sometimes be derived even from an unworthy source. The 3° is distinctly referred to, but the chief item of interest is the statement publicly made in a 2d. Newspaper in 1742 that *not one Mason in a hundred* would go to the expense of being *Raised a Master* unless he had some ulterior object in view such as mercenary gain, for there were many instances in those days of a Wine Merchant seeking Initiation into our Mysteries in the hope that he might before long be allowed

to supply the liquid refreshment that was so much and so often required and appreciated by the early members of the Craft; without which assistance how could they possibly have done justice to the numerous Toasts so customary in those days?

"The Westminster Journal; or New Weekly Miscellany"

By Thomas Touchit, of Spring Gardens, Esq
Saturday, May 8, 1742. [Price Two-Pence.]
London: Printed and Sold by J. Mechell, at the King's Arms next the Leg-Tavern, in Fleet Street, where Advertisements and Letters to the Author are taken in.

Note.—The above Newspaper (the original of which is in the Grand Lodge Library) gives a rather scurrilous account of Freemasonry, and the Editor entitles his story as follows, viz.:—

"The Free-Masons Downfall"; or The Restoration of the Scald-Miserables."

The Article purports to be a "Remonstrance . . . of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master, Deputy Grand-Master, Grand Wardens, and Brethren of the most Ancient and Honorable Society of Scald-Miserable-Masons," and is accompanied by the first oldest known Engraving of the "Solemn and Stately Procession of the Scald-Miserable Masons," which can be shortly described as a shameful caricature of the Free Masonry of those days, but the chief interest to the student lies in the fact that in this engraving the *Master Mason* is clearly delineated, thereby giving us unmistakeable evidence that the 3° was well known, not only to the Craft but also to its opponents in 1742.

A Catechism—containing what purports to be a series of Masonic questions and answers—is also printed in this old Newspaper, entitled "*The Mystery of Free-Masons*"—"Taken from a Manuscript, found among the Papers of a deceased Brother," wherein—after referring to the fact that an Entered Apprentice was later on *Made a Master*—we are informed that there was at that time a *Master's Word and Sign*.

The Editor also adds a very interesting and important statement in which he says:—

"*Note.*—There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the Expence to pass the Master's Part, except it be for Interest."

Note.—It is obvious, therefore, that if all the Fellow Craftsmen of this period had held similar views there would have been no necessity at all to institute *Masters' Lodges* to Raise them to the Degree of Master Masons.

Masters' Lodges.

The date of the first two Masters' Lodges mentioned by Bro. Lane is 1733; viz., the Lodges meeting (1) at the Bear & Harrow, Butcher Row, London, and (2) at Oates Coffee House, Lincolns Inn Fields, London, each holding a Masters' Lodge for three years, for in 1736 both these Lodges were erased. We can, therefore, take this date of 1733 as fairly likely to be accurate as a starting point, for—as above explained—there were not many Fellow Crafts at first who would desire to be *Raised Masters*. The following general information on the subject has been chiefly derived—as previously stated—from various extracts taken from the records of certain old Lodges, viz:—

1. That Masters' Lodges were at first often held on *Sunday evenings*; this may have been owing to the fact that the Drama of the 3° had a distinctly more religious atmosphere than the Degree of a F. Craft, for it was most unusual for a Craft Lodge ever to meet for Masonic work on a Sunday.
2. At first the work was strictly limited to *Raising Masters*, but later on we find that ordinary Craft work was also performed in a so-called Masters' Lodge.

3. Sometimes the Masters' Lodge was quite independent of its sister Craft Lodge, for the members of a Masters' Lodge were not always identical with those of the Craft Lodge with which they were associated—sometimes they had different addresses, yet we find that members of both kinds of Lodges generally received a copy of the same Summons.
4. On rare occasions a Masters' Lodge was held at a Brother's private house; for instance, in 1736 Bro. Martin Clare, of the King's Arms Lodge, held one at his own house in Soho Square.
5. The 3° was sometimes described as the *High Degree of a Master*, which later on developed in 1768 to being described as the *Sublime Degree of a Master Mason*.
6. About 1745 apparently it became customary to Raise Master Masons in an ordinary Craft Lodge, and gradually the original type of Masters' Lodge died out.
7. However, there were certain genuine Masters' Lodges which remained in existence right up to 1769—and then abruptly ceased—which fact gives fairly clear evidence that they were being used up to that date for working some higher degree, most likely that of *Holy Royal Arch*; for instance, the Masters' Lodges heretofore held by both Antiquity Lodge, No. 1, and the Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping, ceased to be held in 1769—doubtless because at this date Royal Arch Chapters for the first time were allowed to be formed.

Old Kings' Arms Lodge, No. 28.

The History of this well-known Lodge of the Moderns (originally No. 43) was written in 1899 by Bro. Calvert, P.G.Stwd. (the then W.M. of No. 28); several of the items printed in this paper have already appeared in that interesting and valued book, but it was, of course, impossible to include in the compass of one volume many other interesting facts concerning the early life of that well-known Lodge. Owing, however, to the courtesy and fraternal goodwill—expected of good Masons—the members of this old Lodge recently “unanimously voted” the present writer the privilege of making use of extracts taken from their earliest Minute Book (1733-1756) for the purpose of illustrating this paper, and he now desires formally to express his sincere feeling of appreciation for this act of fraternal kindness. But primarily the writer's best thanks are due to Bro. Wonnacott, the Librarian of Grand Lodge, for it was due entirely to his generous offer of assistance that an inspection of this earliest Minute Book of Lodge No. 28 was made available. Bro. C. F. Glenny, P.G.Std., the Treasurer of No. 28, also has my thanks for obtaining the necessary sanction for such publication. Most old Lodges have lost their early Minutes, the members of No. 28 are, therefore, to be highly congratulated in having preserved for so long such valued records of their early life. This Lodge originally was one of the most important in the Craft, for the late Bro. Sadler tells us that during its first thirty years of life its members included five Brethren who had occupied the high position of *Grand Master*, and seven who had acted as *Dep.Gd.Master*. To such a Lodge we naturally look for valuable information, not only on the subject of Master's Lodges, but also on the early customs of the Craft which are so eagerly sought after by Masonic students.

Martin Clare, F.R.S.

Perhaps the most interesting member of No. 28 was Bro. Martin Clare, who not only acted as Master but also for some years as Secretary of the Lodge—he also was appointed in 1741 *Dep.Gd.M.* Now Martin Clare was a Schoolmaster and kept an Academy for boys in Soho Square; it was the custom in those days for the Secretary to write out the Rough Minutes of the work done in the Lodge and later on to engross same in the actual Minute Book, and it is owing to the clear and bold handwriting of Martin Clare and his scholarly

wording that so many of these early Minutes of No. 28 have their real Masonic value. Bro. Wonnacott in 1915 wrote the chief details of this worthy man's life in an Article full of interest and merit, entitled *Martin Clare and the Defence of Masonry* (1730), which appeared in *A.Q.C.* xxviii., pp. 80-110, to which the reader is referred for further information about the Masonic career of Bro. Clare.

Some extracts taken by permission from the original Minutes of the Old Kings Arms' Lodge, No. 28 (1733 to 1756):—

Masters' Lodges
and
Raising Masters.

"Kings Arms in the Strand"

- 1733, Aug. 6th. "The Minutes of the last *Chapter* . . . were read to the satisfaction of the Society present, no objection being made."
- 1733, Oct. 1st. The Minutes state that a Copper Plate was used for the purpose of printing the Summonses, & it was Resolved that "from time to time one of these [Summonses] should be sent to the Abodes of *each of the Members both of the Fellow Craft and Masters Lodge* before the assembling of the same, intimating that for want of these Notices Lodges were often *thin thro forgetfulness.*"
- Three Brethren also "made it their joynt Request to the Lodge, that they would be pleased in regard *the Mast^{rs}. Lodge was just opening* that they might have the Favour of being admitted *to that Degree* by promising on their part to do their utmost Endeavour to shew themselves not unworthy of this Favour; in consideration of the promising Merits of three such Members, this was granted and they were honoured *with that degree of the Craft by the Acting Master.*"
- 1734, Jany. 7th. Resolved that as "Sir Wm. Keith, *a member of the Masters Lodge* and the present D.G.M., desired to be admitted a Member of this Society," he be Ballotted for the next Lodge Night.
- It was also reported "that the Quarterly Minutes" [of Grand Lodge] "could be obtained of the Secretary at 2^s. 6^d. each." [Sir Cecil Wray was Master of the Lodge at this period.]
- 1733/4, Mch. 11th. Monday. Lord Viscount Weymouth and Lord Viscount Killmurray each paid 3 guineas to the Use of the Lodge and the Expenses of the Extraordinary Convention to be held, they "*to have Institution*" [Initiation] "ordered them Immediately." [Note.—This means that these two Lords by their own request were to be Initiated at once in an Emergency Lodge, they agreeing each to pay £3.3.0, also the costs of this special evening, Sir Cecil Wray, the recent R.W.M., to perform the ceremony.]
- 1734, March 27. The same two Lords, viz. Viscount Weymouth and Viscount Killmurray "were Severally Admitted in form, F.F.C. and E.P." [i.e., Fellow Craft and Entered Prentice]. "An Examination was passed between the Acting Mast^r. and J.W."
- On the same evening the said "Rt. Honourable the Lord Weymouth and the Rt. Honourable the Lord Killmurray were at their particular Instance *admitted Master Masons* and paid the Fee."
- "These Noblemen were pleased to declare their Intentions to become Members of the *Constituted Lodge.*" "Adjourned."
- 1734, May 6th. Monday. "The Lodge was this evening opened by the Master and his two Wardens at 8 o'clock. The Mast^r. Masons Song was read by Bro^r. Clare." "An Examination was passed between the Mast^r. and Senior Warden." "The Lodge was closed and adjourned."
- 1734, Nov. 4th. "An Invitation *from the Mast^{rs}. Lodge to the Mast^{rs}. of this Constituted Lodge to become Members, at least Visitors thereof*, was proposed and affectionately recommended from the Chair, to which the Members seemed very Attentive."
- 1735, May 5th. Monday. Four Gentlemen "were desirous of being admitted Masters and Dr. Graeme was commissioned to convoke a *proper Lo. of Masters* for this Service on Saturday next." [Note.—Bro. William Graeme, M.D., was Dep.Gd.Master of the G.L. of England in 1739-40.]
- 1735, May 10th. Saturday. "A Lodge of Masters convened this Evening in this place" [Kings Arms', in the Strand] "*to make the Masters elect mentioned.* Br. Boeme could not be present but Br. Bottomley who had got himself qualified *received the Hon^r. of Mastership* in his place. A dispute arose whether the Money paid by the Masters ought not according

to the Letter of the Law for that purpose to be applied to the *Entertainment of the Masters convened* and the Question was put whether the Money should be applied to the purpose intended and it was carried in the Affirmative, the Question was also put whether this ought not rather to be considered by the Body of the Lodge, it was carried in the Negative by a great Majority." "Adjourned." [Note.—Here is clear proof that the Masters' Lodge was a body quite independent of the Craft Lodge.]

- 1735, June 2nd. Monday. "The Minutes of the last Conference and the *Minutes of the Masters' Lodge* ordered therein being also read it occasioned a Motion that since the *Masters Money* had for time out of mind been Applied to the *Uses of the Fellow Crafts*, or in the *Constituted Lodge* and that since this Money had been recd and paid therein by *Mistake* and against the 10th. (?) of the Bye Laws of this Lodge it was Moved that the Accts of the Society should be inquired into and that the Money found to be paid wrongfully *should be returned to the Corps of Masters* found in this Lodge, to be by them disposed of in what manner they judge most proper and the Care of this Inquisition was referred to Bro^r. Clare and his Report was to be received the next Lodge Night."
- 1735, June 16th. Monday. "Br. Clare reported from the Accts of the Society that 12 *Masters appeared to have been passed in this Lodge and the Money paid by Mistake being £3 [i.e., 5s. 0d. for each Raising]* was moved to be refunded according to the Resolution taken the last Lodge Night but Upon a Debate it was concluded that to prevent the overhauling the Accts of the Society which had been passed by a Succession of Masters, Wardens and other Members which might by this Inquisition be thrown somewhat into Confusion it had much rather not be pursued But it was Resolved *Nem. contrad.* that for the future it would be *very right, that the fee paid by new Mas^{rs}. for their Admission [i.e., Raising] to this High Order of Masonry should be at Y^e disposal of the Mas^{rs}. called together on that Occasion [i.e., at the Masters Lodge]* which by a new Amendment was ordered *never to be done on an ordinary Lodge Night*, provided always that Intimation be given by the Chairman publicly of the *Time and Place of that Ceremony* before the Closing of each Lodge."
- 1735, Sept. 1st. Monday. "The Laws were read by Br. Clare and Notice being taken that the 2nd. and 4th. of the General Regulations of this Lodge (for some time disused to make way for a *Mas^{rs}. Lodge* proposed in this place during the Winter Season) may be restored and established on the old Foot, this was thought expedient, *nem. contrad.*"

The Stewards' Lodge (1735).

- 1735, Nov. 17th. "The Master read an Invitation from the Stewards' Lodge intimating that their Lodge was fixed at the Shakespeare's Head in Covent Garden & that their Publick Nights were fixed for the 3rd Wednesdays in October, January, April and July where the Visit of the *Master Masons* belonging to this Society would be always acceptable." "A Motion was Made by Bro^r. Clare that a Jewel for the Use of the Mas^{rs}. at the passing of *Masters* might be purchased with a proper Swivel and Ribband that this *Degree of M——y* might be given with the *Lecture due thereto*, this was ordered *Nem. Cont.* and the Care of it was committed to the proposer Bro^r. Clare agst the next Lodge Night."
- 1735, Dec. 15th. Monday. "The *Masters Jewel* was produced by Bro^r. Clare and 2s.6 ordered to be paid him in consideration of it with thanks for his good Husbandry in the purchase of it.
- 1736, Nov. 1st. "Bro^r. Adams acquainted the Lo. that as our two lately made Brothers Clarke & Grang^r. not having had it in their Power to be *past Mas^{rs}. in this Lo.* in time to qualify them to visit the Stewards on their next publick Night, he having found them well qualified *had passed them Mas^{rs}. at the Turks Head* in Greek St^h. where he is at present Mas^r. but paid the proper fees [? of 5s. 0d. each] into our Box for the Benefit of this Lo."

Masters' Lodge at Private House.

- 1736, Nov. 15th. Bro. [Martin] Clare "intimated to the Lo. that there being a *sufficient Number of Mas^{rs}.* the last night at his H^o. our Bro^r. Long being present and desirous of becoming a *Ma^r. Mason* in order to qualify him to accept of the Succession as Steward to our R^t. Worshipp^l. Ma^r. and he being well qualified to be admitted to that degree that our sd Bro^r. Long *had there been passed Master* and was ready to pay the *Customary Fees for the Entertainment of the Ma^r. Masons of this Society* whenever their Worrips [Worships] shall please to appoint a Time for partaking of the Fees that have been paid by him and others on the same Acc^t."

1737, Feb. 6th. Monday. Resolved "That no Public Chapter of the Lodge be held between the times of Q.Comm. and that of Receiving the Summons thereto."

1744/5 Mch. 15th. "Cannon" [Tavern, Charing Cross].

"It was proposed by our Bro. Dr. Hody That Whereas Bro. Bennet being Made a Mason in a Lodge of Masters only, & therefore contrary to our present Constitution, That our Bro. Bennet should be regularly Initiated in this Lodge which was 2nd. & agreed to Nem. Con." "Bro. Bennet was accordingly Admitted and Proposed as a Candidate for membership of this Lodge."

1745, Apl. 3rd. "Bro. Bennet, a Candidate for Membership was Ballotted for which was Carried and he put on his Cloathing accordingly."

Note.—Bro. Ed. Hody, M.D., F.R.S., was Dep.Gd.Master of the G.L. of England in 1745-46.

It now appears from the Minutes that about December 1745 the Members of No. 28 decided to cease holding their Masters' Lodge and for the future to perform the ceremony of *Raising a Master* in their Craft Lodge. The Master in the Chair at this period was Sir Robert Lawley, Bart., who was Dep.Gd.Master in 1742-43. It must indeed have been a great event thus—for the first time in the history of this fine old Lodge—to *Raise a Master* in their ordinary Craft Lodge, and an expert Craftsman, a Dep.Gd.M., was selected for the purpose of working this *High Degree of a Master*, which hitherto had always been conferred in the secret and special environment of a Masters' Lodge—on a separate night—entirely distinct from the ordinary routine of their Craft—or Constituted—Lodge.

1745, Apl. 3rd. "Jonathan Aylesworth Esq was this Night Admitted a Mason who paid the Usual Fee & became a Member of this Lodge."

1745, May 1st. "Cannon." "Bro. Aylesworth was by the Master [Sir Robt. Lawley, Bart] appointed Secretary."

1745, Dec. 4th. "Cannon" [Tavern] "Lodge open'd. Rt. Worshipful Sir Robert Lawley, Master in the Chair" . . . Various work was performed. "Then the Lodge was Adjourned . . . The Lodge was again Opened when Bro. Torr proposed Mr. Wm. Duncan, a Jeweller, who is a Member of a Lodge in the Island of Jamaica & which was Seconded (and a very good Character being given him) That he should be *Raised to the Degree of a Master* at the next Convention & which was agreed to accordingly. Then the Lodge was Regularly Closed." [Note.—The Candidate was to be Raised a Master in their Craft Lodge and not in the Masters' Lodge as hitherto.]

1746, January 1st. "Old Kings Arms Lodge held at the Cannon" [Tavern].

"Lodge open'd: Rt. Wor. Sr. Robt. Lawley, Master in the Chair." "The Minutes of the last Convention was Read a first time & after 9 o' th' Clock a 2nd. time and confirm'd" . . . "Then Bro. Aylesworth & afterwards Bro. Wm. Duncan were each of them accordingly *Raised to the Degree of a Mas^r*. by the Rt. Wor. the Mas^r." . . . "And the Lodge was Regularly Closed."

The High Degree of a Master (1746).

1746, Feb. 5th. "Cannon." "A Certificate at the Request of Bro. Wm. Duncan was Signed by the Deputy Grand [Bro. Dr. Hody], the Rt.Wor. the Mas^r., the Wardens & the Secretary That Bro. Duncan was Admitted to the *High Degree of a Master* on the first of January last." "All Business being over the Lodge was Closed."

The Stewards' Lodge (1748).

1748, March 1st. A Certificate was granted to a Bro. stating that (1) He was Made a Mason in this Lodge & duly Admitted to the First Degree of Masonry on the 11th Dec^r. 1747, and (2) was afterwards "in due time" Admitted to the 2nd. Degree; and (3) "at the Stewards Lodge held the 20th day of January last was *Raised to the Third Degree* as appears to us from the Report of Several Members of that Lodge then present," and then the usual words of Recommendation customary in a Certificate of that period followed.

1753, June 5th. "Bear & Rummer Tavern." Resolved "That the Lodge meet on Saturday next at 7 o'clock in Order to *Raise* Br. Barratt, [Thos.] Preston, Lyell & Hozier, Masters." "Gave the Tyler for two Makings and his Xmas Box ten shillings."

1753, June 9th. "According to the Order of last Night Brs. Barratt, [Thos.] Preston & Lyell were all this Night *made Master Masons*." "A Lecture went thro' in the Fellow Craft and *Masters Part*." [Note.—Here is the first reference to a Lecture in the 3°—up to now they used the expression "an Examination," now described for the first time as a Masonic Lecture.]

Reed of Brs. Barratt	s.d	} This refers to the usual Raising Fee of 5s. 0d. for each Candidate.
Preston	5.0	
Lyell	5.0	
	s.d	
		"Paid the Tyler, 5.0."

1754, Mch. 5th. "Bear and Rummer." "It was agreed this Night that next Lodge Night Their should be *Araiseing of Masters*."

A Clandestine Mason.

1754, March 19th. "Bear and Rummer." "This Night Bro. Thirkle Junr. came in Order to Make a Visit to this Lodge and upon examination he was found to be a very good Mason but made in a *Clandestine manner in an Unconstituted Lodge*. The R^t. W. Desired the Lodge Might take it into Consideration and Think of the Inconveniences That might arise from Admitting such visitors Accordingly it was Unanimously agreed That he should be Regularly Made before he was Admitted; Accordingly he was that Night *Made in the Three Degrees* and paid what is customary." "According to the last Nights Minutes Brs. Crowder, Scott and Davies were all *Raised Masters*"; and each paid 5s. 0d. *Raising Fee*. "Br. Thirkell paid for Ye three Degrees, £1.11.0" [instead of the usual Visitors Fee of 1s. 0d.!]

1754, Nov. 5th. "Bear and Rummer." 4 Brethren "were this Night *raised Masters* and Paid the Usual Fees: 5s. 0d. each."

	s.d		
Raisings	Br. Sutton	5.0	Visitors
	Br. Judson	5.0	2.0 }
	Br. Paley	5.0	1.0 }
	Br. Massey	5.0	

1754, Nov. 19th. "Bear and Rummer." [Note.—The Fees were increased this Night:—£2.2.0 to be Made a Mason instead of £1.6.0. £1.1.0 to be Admitted a Member. 1s. 6d. Visitor's Fee instead of 1s. 0.]

1754, Dec. 17th. Resolved "That their should be a Past Masters Jewel for the Use of this Lodge."

1755, Jany. 7th. 3 Brethren "were this Night *Raised Master Masons* and Paid the Usual Fee of 5s. 0d. each."

Feb. 4th. "Br. Pye, Br. Thos. Darby & Jno. Chelton was this Night *Rais'd Master Masons*."

1756, Apl. 22nd. "Bear & Rummer Lodge, by a Convention of the R.W.Master " 3 Brethren "were this Night by the Consent of the Lodge and *their own Desire Rais'd Masters* & paid their Fees" [5s. 0d. each].

1756, May 5th. "Bear & Rummer Lodge." 2 Brethren "were *Rais'd Masters* this Night and paid there Admission Fee" [5s. 0d. each].

[Note.—In 1756 Br. Joseph Bristow was a Carpenter; Br. Smallwood a Button-Maker, whilst Br. Thos. Baker, of Cross Court, Bow Street, was a "*Master of Musick*."]

Raising Masters (No. 2).

If my preceding observations are reasonably correct, it seems obvious that at first every Craft Lodge must have needed either a private Masters' Lodge attached to itself, as in the Kings Arms Lodge just referred to, or else every F.C. who desired to be *Raised a Master* would have to find some independent Masters' Lodge—preferably in his own neighbourhood—ready and willing to confer on him the 3°. Apparently there would not be much difficulty in finding such a facility, and he surely would be welcomed, for every F.C. would have to pay the usual Raising Fee of 5s. 0d., the expenditure of which would contribute to the social part of the evening's programme, it being a custom that these fees should be applied to the *Entertainment of the Masters*. We often notice that a Bro. in those days would receive a different degree in various Lodges; he did not always receive the three Degrees in his Mother Lodge.

3° worked in Craft Lodge in 1745.

As far as I can ascertain, the 3° was first worked in a Craft Lodge in London about 1745; at any rate, it was on the 4th December 1745 that the King's Arms Lodge, No. 43 (as recently mentioned) first Raised a Master in their ordinary Craft Lodge; there may have been earlier instances in other Lodges; if so, I leave to others the task of bringing forward the interesting details.

Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping.

I cannot give such an early date as 1745 as regards my Mother Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping, for our earliest Minute Book extant does not commence until 1748, at which period No. 9 was regularly *Making Masons* by conferring the 1° and 2° on the same night, and then at the next fortnightly Lodge Meeting the same Candidate was *Raised a Master*. Their Quarterage Book, however, commences in 1739 and contains a full list of Members. In that year (1739) they describe their head as "R.W.M." and their "I.P.M." as *Past Master*; the assumption, therefore, is that they had in past years Raised their Master in their own Masters' Lodge, for later on there is clear evidence that they must have held at least 400 Masters' Lodges from 1754 up to 1769, so they were quite familiar with the working of such an Institution. Now we can learn a good deal on the subject of Masters' Lodges from the records of No. 9 (Constituted in 1723), one of the oldest *Modern* Lodges in the world, but I regret that I can only commence the story in the year 1755, for up to this year the Minute Books are silent on the point, but as they *abruptly* refer to the subject in the Minutes of that year (1755) it seems obvious that No. 9 had enjoyed the luxury and privilege inherent in a Masters' Lodge for many years prior to that date.

The following are some selected items—there are many of them—showing how the existence of Master's Lodges in No. 9 at Wapping first appears, and distinctly prove that they first met for this purpose on a *Sunday Night*.

Masters' Lodges.

Extracts from the Minute Books of Lodge No. 9 at Wapping.

1755, March 9th. "*Sunday, Masters' Lodge*. This Night Bro. Chas. Payne was *Raised a Master*, for which Honour he paid Five Shillings for Ye Use of this Lodge."

[Note.—This item appears for the first time in the Ordinary Minutes for up to now there had been no reference to the fact that No. 9 possessed a Masters' Lodge.]

March 16. "*Sunday, Masters' Lodge*. This Night Bro. Johnson was *Raised a Master*, for which he paid 5s. for Ye Use of this Lodge."

Sept. 30. *Sunday, Masters' Lodge*. A Bro. Raised, for which he paid 5s.

Oct. 26. *Sunday, Masters' Lodge*. 3 Brethren were Raised Masters, for which each paid 5s.

Extracts from Cash Books.

1756, March 25.	3 Brethren Raised at a Masters' Lodge on 15th inst. 5s. each	£ s. d
		15.0
Nov. 23.	"Recd. of Bro. Drake for his <i>Raising at a Master's Lodge</i> "	5.0
1759, Feb. 22.	"Recd of Br. King for proposing Bros. Donaldson and Norman to be Raised Master Maçons next Masters' Lodge Night"	5.0
Oct. 11.	"Br. Harris Raising at a Masters' Lodge"	5.0
1761, Dec. 24.	"Recd of 4 Brethren, their Raising at a Masters' Lodge"	1. 0.0

Now, although there is ample evidence that the primary object of a Master's Lodge was to *Raise Masters* and was not intended for any other kind

of Masonic work, we soon find that as discipline was lax in those days our Brethren later on began to make use of a Masters' Lodge for the ordinary work of a Craft Lodge, almost turning it into a Lodge of Emergency or a Bye Lodge.

In 1767 the Brethren of No. 9, however, forbade this practice and stated that a Masters' Lodge for the future was *not* to be used *on account of Makings*. There was also a dispute in 1763 as to whether the Masters' Lodge was entitled to receive the *Cash collected on Masters' Nights*, but it was eventually decided that any cash so received should be credited to the account of the ordinary Craft Lodge; a similar dispute arose on 10th May 1735 in the Old King's Arms Lodge. Note the interesting item in their Minutes on this point.

About 1763 it was agreed that the Masters' Lodge should commence on Monday nights—in 1768 it met on Thursdays—and that it should have the Use of the Furniture of the Lodge, and that the Brethren who were present on Masters' Lodge Nights should *each pay one shilling*. These special Masters' Lodges, at this period, were only held during the six winter months from October to March; they were described as an *Indulgence*, and evidently were held for some special purpose quite different from that of merely *Raising Masters*, for this 3° had regularly been conferred on Fellow Crafts in their ordinary Craft Lodge right back to 1748, and doubtless earlier still, hence the writer feels he is quite justified in suggesting that, under such circumstances, they finally used their Masters' Lodge for the purpose of working the ceremony of *Holy Royal Arch*. It is most unlikely that our rough members of that period would agree to pay 1s. 0d. per night for admission to their Masters' Lodge merely to witness the working of the 3° which they could see regularly performed in their Craft Lodge for nothing. No, it must have been some ceremony of a much more interesting nature that made them vote for their Masters' Lodge, which in 1768 they described as an *Indulgence*. The following extracts from the records of the Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping, speak for themselves.

Extracts from Minute Books.

1763, Sept. 22. Bro. Beck [P.M.] proposed "That the *Masters' Lodge* commence next Monday Night, and that we have the Use of the Furniture of the Lodge, put up, and carried, Nem. Con." [Bro. Benson Beck, a Surgeon, was R.W.M. of No. 9 in 1759.]

Brethren attending pay 1s. Fee.

1763, Sept. 26.	"To Cash received from the <i>Masters' Lodge</i> "	£	s.	d.
Oct. 3.	"To Cash Received from the <i>Masters' Lodge</i> "	1.	5.	6
			19.	6

[Similar items occur regularly in the Cash Book during the six winter months, the highest amount received being £1.12.6 and lowest 8s.]

"Stewards of the Masters' Lodge."

1763, Nov. 10. "Br. Beck [P.M.] proposed "That the Cash collected on Monday Nights, being the *Masters' Nights*, be carried to the General Accompt and that the Stewards for the General Lodge Night do take the Stock of the *Stewards of the Masters' Lodge*, put up and Carried, Nem. Con."

1764, Jan. 23. *Masters' Lodge Night*. Proposed That a certain Sea Captain "using the Sea" be Made a Mason, so he was Ballotted for, Accepted and Made a Mason, for which Honour he paid £2.2.0. [Note.—This work was usually performed in our Craft Lodge.]

Feb. 27. "Masters Lodge. This Night Bro. Todridge was Raised a Master, for which Honour he paid 5s."

Mch. 5. Resolved "That the last *Masters' Lodge* should be on March 26th next."

1764, Sept. 27. Bro. Jones moved "That the *Masters' Lodge* be opened next Monday and be continued as usual, and that they have the Use of the Jewels, 2nd. and carried Nem. Con." [Bro. William Jones, an Anchor Smith, was R.W.M. in 1761.]

Oct. 11. *Masters' Lodge*. 5 Brethren were Raised Masters this Night, for which they paid 5s. each.

Item from Cash Book.

- 1764, Oct. 22. "Recd Cash of the *Masters' Lodge*, £4.3.0."
 [Note.—£2.2.0, part of this amount, was for Bro. Fokard's *Making*.]
- 1765, Jan. 10. "Lodge Night. Bro. Griffiths proposed that Bro. Lacon should be *Raised a Master next Master's Lodge*, 2nd and deposited 2s. 6d."
- Jan. 14. "*Masters' Lodge*. This Night Bro. Lacon was *Raised a Master*, for which Honour he paid 5s."
- Mch. 14. "Lodge Night. Bro. Night proposed that Bro. Gould be *Made a Fellow Craft and Raised a Master next Masters' Lodge*, 2nd and deposited made of 5s."
- Mch. 18. "*Masters' Lodge*. This Night agreeable to a proposal of last Lodge Night, Br. Gould was *Made a Fellow Craft* and *Raised a Master*, for which Honour he paid 10s." [Note.—Here was a case of a Bro. who had been *Made an Ent. Appr.* in some other Lodge but who had asked Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping to *Make him a Fellow Craft* and also to *Raise him a Master in their Masters' Lodge* for which he had to pay a fee of five shilling for each degree.]
- 1765, Sept. 26. R.W.M. Bro. [Thomas] Noy [a Painter] proposed "That the *Masters' Lodge* commence next Monday Night, and to *continue as usual*, and that we have the *use of the Jewels*, etc., 2nd and carried Nem. Con."
- 1766, Jan. 20. "*Masters' Lodge*. This Night Bro. Simmons proposed Captains Moor and Moorson to be *Made Masons*, 2nd. and deposited 10s. 6d. each."
- Sept. 11. Proposed "That we should hold the *Masters' Lodge* from Next Monday being Micas, to *continue till Lady Day next*, carried Nem. Con."
- Sept. 25. Resolved "That we should have the *Masters' Lodge* from next Monday, being Micas Day, to *continue till Lady-day*," and carried Nem. Con."
- 1767, Sept. 24. Resolved "That every *Thursday* that is not a Public Lodge Night be a *Masters' Lodge Night*."

"Past Masters' Uniforms" (1767).

"Purple Colored Ribands."

- 1767, Sept. 24. Proposed "That the *Past Masters' Uniforms* shall be altered from *Purple Col^d. Ribands* to what they think proper, and that they shall meet this at their own expense." [Note.—Does not the Purple Colour suggest the ceremony of Holy Royal Arch?]

Masters' Lodges *not* for Makings.

- 1767, Oct. 8. "This Night Bro. Maddock proposed That for the Future, *no Masters' Lodge* shall be deemed a Public Lodge *on Account of Makings*, carried Nem. Con." [Note.—A *Masters' Lodge* originally intended merely to *Raise Masters*, owing to laxity had been used for *Makings*; this was now forbidden for the future.]

"Past Masters fix their Medals to a Chain."

- 1767, Oct. 8. "The Past Masters reported that they held a Meeting agreeable to a proposal of last Lodge Night, and agreed to fix their Medals to a Chain which was approved by the Lodge and carried Nem Con." [Note.—Apparently up to now their Medals (Jewels) had been suspended from a Blue Ribbon.]
- Oct. 22. "Br. Boundy to be *Raised a Master next Masters' Lodge*, 2nd and deposited 2s. 6d."
- 1768, Jan. 21. *Masters Lodge*. 2 Brethren were *Raised Masters*, for which Honour they paid 5s. each.

Past Masters to pay for their Chains (1768).

- 1768, Feb. 25. Resolved "That as the Former Past Masters paid for their Chains, that for the Future Past Masters pay for theirs," carried Nem. Con.

Brethren Indulged with a Masters' Lodge.

(1768).

- 1768, Oct. 13. "Bro. Trelawney [R.W.M. in 1758 and Treasurer] proposed That the Brethren of this Lodge may be *Indulged as usual* every Thursday Night during the Winter Season [excepting the Nights on which the General Lodge is held] to hold a *Masters' Lodge*, and that the Brethren may also be *Indulged with the Jewels* on such Nights, 2nd and carried Nem. Con.

on condition the Brethren pay one shilling apiece every time they are present at such Masters' Lodge Night; The First Masters' Lodge to be held next Thursday Night."

Last Masters' Lodge held on 23rd March 1769.

1769, Mch. 23. "Recd Cash of the Masters' Lodge "

s.d
4.0

Masters' Lodges abolished Oct. 1769.

"Masters' Lecture" instead.

1769, Oct. 12. "This Night Bro. Lacon [J.W.] proposed That we hold a Masters' Lodge during the *Winter Quarters* as formerly, 2nd, and which was put up and carried in the Negative." . . . "Likewise Bro. [Nathaniel] Allan [R.W.M. 1767] proposed That we have a *Masters' Lecture* on the Publick Nights from Micas to Lady-day next, which was put up and carried Nem. Con."

Thomas Dunckerley (1724-1795).

This famous Mason spent many years in the Navy, this would give him a partiality for Sea-Faring Lodges, and it is interesting to note that in 1761 he joined the Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping, a great Maritime Lodge with many Sea Captains on its list of members; he paid his Quarterage for seven years; (a speech of his made in the Lodge in 1767 is duly recorded), and he resigned in 1768. Now No. 9 at Wapping held *Masters' Lodges* from at least 1754 to 1769, and if Dunckerley paid the necessary fee of 1s. 0d., he could have attended their Masters' Lodge held fortnightly (sometimes weekly) at Wapping during the six winter months. In this way he may have gained an early experience of the work done in a Masters' Lodge and may even have urged No. 9 to perform therein the ceremony of Royal Arch in which he was so interested; at any rate, when he—by special authority of the G. Lodge (Moderns)—Constituted in 1762 a Craft Lodge "On Board His Majesty's Ship, the *Prince* at Plymouth," he also attached to it a *Masters' Lodge*; it is interesting to reflect that doubtless in this Masters' Lodge held on *Board of a Man-of-War*, the degree of Holy Royal Arch may have been worked from 1764 to 1766. Dunckerley's great affection for R. Arch Masonry is proved by the fact that at one time he was Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masons over no less than eighteen counties. The Lodge he thus formed in 1762 on board 'H.M. *Prince*' is now represented by the *Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4.*

Summary.

In conclusion, it seems reasonable to say that the following facts appear to emerge out of this admittedly obscure problem:—

1. The origin of Masters' Lodges was undoubtedly to work the 3°, which through ignorance the ordinary Craft Lodge at first was incapable of administering.
2. Whilst a few Masters' Lodges established themselves as separate entities, accepting no Constitution from Gd. Lodge, paying no fees and as a consequence abstaining from attendance at the Quarterly Communications, yet, speaking generally, a Masters' Lodge was an offshoot from its parent Craft Lodge with which it worked in close association.
3. Primarily the work done was to *Raise Masters*, but owing to laxity of procedure, in time, ordinary Craft work, such as *Making Masons* and other matters, were also performed in a Masters' Lodge.
4. As the working of the 3° became more widely known and the beauty of its symbolism and teaching appreciated, the necessity for Masters' Lodges gradually disappeared and the degree of Raising Masters was regularly worked in a Craft Lodge; the King's Arms Lodge, No. 43, commencing this innovation as early as 1745.

5. Even after the primary necessity of Masters' Lodges had disappeared, various Lodges continued to make use of them for other purposes, and the evidence (at any rate, in Lodge No. 9 at Wapping) clearly points to the working of some higher and more interesting degree, most likely *Holy Royal Arch*.

It will be remembered that the Grand Lodge of the Moderns strongly objected to Lodges under their jurisdiction working Royal Arch. In *Masonic Facts and Fictions* the late Bro. Henry Sadler quoted Laurence Dermott as saying "That Mr. Spencer, Grand Secy. of the Moderns, stated That our Society [that is, the Moderns] is *neither Arch, Royal Arch, or Ancient*." The D.G.M. of the Moderns in 1768 also stated: "Royal Arch Masonry comes *not* under our Inspection. You are desired *never* to insert the Transactions thereof in your regular *Lodge Books*, nor to carry on the business of that Degree on your stated *Lodge Nights*."

It will be noted that the G.L. of the Moderns did *not* actually forbid the working of the ceremony, but strongly discountenanced it; but as Laurence Dermott was regularly administering it as a 4° in the Lodges of the Antients, various Modern Lodges (of whom No. 9 at Wapping certainly was one), to please their Members, worked the ceremony in their so-called Masters' Lodges but gave up the practice in 1769, the date when—for the first time—a Bro. could be made a Royal Arch Mason in a private Chapter, there then being no longer any necessity for working same in a Masters' Lodge. It is interesting to note that Antiquity, No. 1, held Masters' Lodges from 1760 to 1769, and No. 9 at Wapping from 1754 to 1769; such Lodges that held Masters' Lodges after 1769 may, perhaps, have utilised them for the working of higher degrees such as (1) the *Royal Order of Scotland*, (2) "*Rose Croix*," or (3) even *Knights Templar*, for a portable Tracing Board (circa 1800), the property of Bro. R. J. Elliston, P.Prov.G.W., Bucks., shows not only the 1° and 2° combined but also has painted on same signs of the *Royal Arch* and also *eight small Tents* hinting at an *Encampment*! Bro. Wonnacott has also recently explained how the *Rite of Seven Degrees* was worked in certain French Lodges in London (under the Modern jurisdiction) towards the latter part of the eighteenth century; so, perhaps, other Lodges occasionally indulged in similar pastimes. This Article must now cease; doubtless there are many other phases and incidents in the life of Masters' Lodges, but I leave other students to bring these forward to the light of day.

SUPPLEMENT.

Old King's Arms Lodge, No. 28.

As the Minutes of this old Lodge contain such interesting and valued information as to the part played in London by certain Masters' Lodges from 1733 to 1745, it seems only reasonable that the student should also be informed as to various other old Masonic customs practised by these Brethren, during the same period, in their ordinary Craft Lodge. Accordingly, the following extracts taken from the earliest Minute Book of Lodge No. 28 are now, for the first time, printed here (in sequence), thanks to the kind permission of the members of that Lodge, to whom the sincere thanks of the present writer are again tendered.

Drawing the Lodge on the Floor.

A Foot-Cloth (1733).

[Note.—It is clear that in 1733 the King's Arms Lodge used to "Draw the Lodge on the Floor" with Chalk and Charcoal, but perhaps owing to the Landlord complaining of the dirty state this old-fashioned custom occasioned to the floor of the room in the Tavern in which the Members met, they eventually decided to use a Picture painted on Canvas instead.]

"King's Arms in the Strand."

1733, Nov. 5. "The Master was desired to buy a Drawing Board & T [? Tressell] for the use of the Mas^r. and his Lodge."

Dec. 3. "The Acting Mas^r. represented that whereas the *Institutions* [i.e., Initiation] of new Brethren was attended with more than ordinary and perhaps unnecessary trouble it was therefore Mov'd that a *proper Delineation* should be Made on Canvas and be deposited in the Repository ready for those Occasions and Br. Hayman was appointed to take and execute the Mast^s. directions on this point."

1733/4, Feb. 4. Monday. It was reported "That the *Canvas* expected was promised by Br. Hayman by Bro. Carter agst the next Lodge Night."

1734, Apl. 1. "The Collection from the Lodge Members was made and Br. Hayman ordered his Money."

1735, June 2. "A Motion was Made by Br. Blythe agst the *Foot Cloth* used in our *Makings* but this for want of Time might be refer'd to the next Conference. This Gentleman paid 6^d. for Sitting down *unclothed* with great Readiness."

1735, Aug. 4. "The Consideration of the Affair of the *Foot Cloth* moved by Bro. Blythe in June last was defer'd till he should himself appear in the Lodge to make his objections."

1735, Dec. 11. Resolved "That the *Foot Cloth* made use of at the *Initiation* of new Members should be defaced on acct of Convenience carried Nem. Contradicente."

1752, June 2. "Bear & Rummer" Tavern."

Resolved "That instead of Three Guineas being Given for the Making of a Mason that one Guinea be given only for the Future and half a Crown to the General Charity as also paying half a Crown for Drawing the Lodge, unanimously agreed to." [Note.—The Lodge had at this period "grown thin" and so as to attract new Members they reduced the fees, but evidently the Tyler still "Drew the Lodge on the Floor" for which he received a special fee of 2s. 6d.]

1754, Feb. 4. "Bear and Rummer."

Resolved "That Tyler-Lester be Acquainted that if he does not Constantly attend for the Future that he must Quit this Lodge and another will be Chose in his room." [The Tyler evidently did not think it worth his while to attend a "thin Lodge" and replied "that he could not help it, upon which it was agreed that another should be chose in his room and Bro. Watkins was this Night Chose Tyler."]

1754, Dec. 17. Resolved "That a Small Stool should be made and Properly ornamented for the Use of the Lodge."

1755, May 6. "A Minute on Mr. Watkins not coming to do his duty nor sent a Tiler, for which the Waiter (who was a Mason) had the wages as a Tiler instead of a Waiter."

Institution [Initiation] 1734.

1734, July 1. A Painter and a Brandy Merchant of Dean Street, Soho were proposed "to be Admitted into this Fraternity at the next Chapter in this place. A Good Acc^t. was given of them and their *Morals* by the proposer" [i.e., Bro. Clare, the Acting Master]; they were "Seconded and Support[ed] and their Healths were Severally drank to as *Brethren Elect* with abundance of Satisfaction and Institution [i.e., Initiation] was ordered them the next Lo. Night at 7 o'clock."

1734, Aug. 5th. "The two Brethren Elect Br. Humby & Br. Wareing received Institution in full form except that of the *Jewels* which could not be had because the S.W. was possessed of the Key which no doubt he will think himself concerned to account for in proper time. An Examination was passed by the Proper Officers for the Institution and Edification of our new made Brethren." "After paying the constant *devoirs* of Masonry, the Lo. was closed." "Adjourned."

1735, Jany. 6. "The Wardens of the Lo. neither appearing in Person with their Keys nor by Proxy, and leaving the Society destitute of its *Ornaments Utensils* and Books" it was queried "whether by their neglect they had incurred the Penalty assigned by our Statutes or Not."

1739, Jan. 1. Thomas Lydiard Esq "sent an excuse this Night for his Non-Attendance in order to receive Institution" ordered "That his *Making* be on the next Lodge Night."

1739, Feb. 3. "Thomas Lydiard Esq received Institution and his health was drank to in due Form."

1736/7, Feb. 7th. A Joining Bro. "Attending this Evening as his third Visit to this Society was ballotted for and being unanimously elected was admitted under the Congratulations of all the Members present And *Clothed Immediately*. His Health was proposed and drank to with a Brotherly regard. He paid the Statutable Fees."

1736/7, Feb. 21. "The Lodge was this Evening opened in the *Statutable Time* by the proper Officers."

1756, Feb. 16. "Bear & Rummer Lodge."
"Mr. Wm. Smallwood was this Night Made a Mason, an Enterprntice & Fellow Craft, being Ballotted, Nem. Con."

Installation of Master (1734).

1733/4, March 4. "Br. Streatfield was unanimously elected to fill the Chair for the ensuing half year and *installed & invested* by the R^r. Worshipful Mas^r. in form."

1736, Sept. 6. "The Health of both the Master and Bro^r. Clare were severally proposed by his Worship. Doctor Grøme and drank to wth. *great Solemnity* with many Thanks for their good Offices in the Craft by Y^e Society." "The New Ma^r. and Wardens with two others of the Society regularly signed and passed the late Ma^rs. Accts, there being 13 Guineas & 7^d. (inclusive of this Nights Expences) in the *Green purse*. All business being over Adj'd."

1740, Sept. 1. "Agreeable to our Laws, all the Laws was read over Immediately before the Election of a Master. After a Regular Balloting (*All the Members Names being put up to Choise*) Bro^r. Benjⁿ. Gascoyne was Elected Master with Great Unanimity & Joy and Invested with the proper Ensigns of his Office & his health was Drank to with *Great Chearfulness and Sincerity* as was also the health of our Last Past Master."

"Masonic Lectures" or "Examinations."

[Note.—From 1733 to 1736 it was the custom in the King's Arms Lodge to describe the Lectures in the First Two Degrees as *Examinations*; this expression was constantly used by Bro. Martin Clare, who wrote up the early Minutes in a wonderfully clear and intelligent manner. He was a School Master and kept an Academy or Grammar School in Soho Square; this may perhaps explain his partiality for the expression used by him so frequently of *Masonic Examinations*.]

"Kings Arms in the Strand."

1733, Nov. 5. "An Examination was passed between the Master & Br. Adams, but the Constitutions were omitted for want of Time."

1733/4, March 4th. Monday. "An Examination was passed between the Mas^r. and Br. John Goodchild responded."

1734, March 27. "An Examination was passed between the Mas^r. and Junior Warden."

1734, July 1st. "An Examination was passed by the proper Officers."

1734, Sept. 2nd. "An Examination was gone thro' by the Acting Officers."

1734, Oct. 7. "Part of the Constitutions [Dr. Anderson's] were read by Br. John Goodchild according to the Statutes." "An Examination was passed by Br. Clare interrogating and Br. Nath. Adams acting as J.W. responding."

1735, Dec. 15. "An Examination was passed between the Mas^r. and the whole Society and the Corps of Visitors present."

1735/6, Feb. 2. "An Examination was passed between the Mas^r. and his two Wardens in the 2 first parts of M—y."

1736, Aug. 2. "An Examination was passed between the Ma^r. and the whole Society *circularly* But not before Part of the Constitutions of M—y had been read by Br. Clare."

[Note.—From 1733 onwards it was a fairly regular practice that a part of Dr. Anderson's Constitutions should be read by the Master just as in the old Operative days it was a custom to read a portion of the "Old Charges."]

1736, Sept. 6. "An Examination was passed between the Ma^r. & the whole Society *Rotatively*."

Oct. 4. "A Circular Examination was Regularly gone through."

Oct. 18. "An Examination was passed between the Ma^r. and the two Wardens alternately."

Nov. 1st. "The Ma^r. proceeded to a Circular Examination in the E.P. Pt."

Nov. 15. "An Examination was passed betwⁿ. the Ma^r. and all the Assistants in a *Circular Manner*."

Dec. 20. "An Examination was gone through in the Enter'd Prentice's part, between the Master and all the Brethren."

1736/7, Jany. 17. "An Examination in the F.C.'s part was passed between the Master and his Wardens. All Business being over the Lodge was closed in due form." "Adjourned."

March 7. "An Examination was passed between the Ma^r., the Fellows and *Visiting Brethren, assisting in a Circular manner*."

- 1737, Feb. 6. "A Lecture was had on Masonry in a circular Manner between the Master & all the Members."
- 1738, Sept. 4. Resolved "That this Lodge doe Subscribe for a Guinea book of [Dr. Anderson's] Constitutions (bound as the Grand Masters.)"
- 1739, Apl. 2. "The New Constitutions from the Creation [of the world] to *Grand Master Nimrod* were Read."
- 1739, Jan. 7. "Part of the Constitutions were Read relating to the Behaviour of Masons." [Note.—This portion was often read.]
- 1741, Nov. 4. "Part of the Constitutions were read concerning the Behaviour of Masons in and out of Lodges."
- 1743, Oct. 5. "Part of the Constitutions were Read by the R^t. Worshp^l. in the chair relating to the Duty & Charges of Masters, Wardens &c."

"Cannon" [Tavern, Charing Cross].

- 1746, Feb. 5. "The R^t. Worshipful the Ma^r. [Sir Robt. Lawley, Bart.] went thro' an Entire Examination in the E.P.'s Part with Bro. Jackson."
- 1746, March 5. "Cannon." "Our Bro. Monkman in a very Genteel Manner desir'd he might be Excus'd his not having attended as often as he ought to have done & made it his Request to the R^t. Worshipp^l. the Ma^r. that he might be Exam'd in the E.P.'s or F.C.'s part or both, he being extremely Desirous of showing the Regular a Mason he intends to be for the future & an Examⁿ. Pass'd between the R^t. Worshippful & Bro. Monkman in the F.C.'s part." "Then the Lodge was Closed in due form & time."
- [Note.—In 1746 the King's Arms Lodge removed from the "Cannon" Tavern, Charing Cross to the "Bear & Rummer" Tavern, Gerrard Street, Soho.]
- 1747, Jan. 5th. Tuesd. "Bear & Rummer." "The 4 First Charges in the Book of Constitutions Read." "The General Laws [i.e., the Bye-Laws] were Read."
- Feb. 2. "Part of the Constitutions Relating to the Ancient Manner of Constituting a Lodge Read."
- 1747, Mch. 1. "Part of the 7th. Chapter of the Book of Constitutions were Read."
- 1752, Nov. 7. "A Lesson on the Apprentice and Fellow Craft was gone through."
- 1756, Feb. 15. "Bear & Rummer Lodge." "A Lecture passed between the R.W.M. and y^e Wardens and the rest of the Brethren."
- [Note.—This form of Masonic Education by means of Questions and Answers evidently was very popular between 1733 and 1756. It is very interesting to notice that sometimes the Master put his questions in a circular manner to every member of the Lodge in rotation, and in 1735 he included "the Corps of Visitors" in his Catechism." No Lecture in the 3^o was given prior to 1753.]

The Grand Feast (1737).
Expenses of the Grand Stewards.

- 1736/7. Monday. March 7th.
- "Br. Hody [Ed. Hody, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.] proposed that this Lodge might send in One Guinea to the Stewards to defray part of their Expense of the Musick at the ensuing Grand Feast believing a Grand Concert in the Procession will conduce to the Honour and Use of the Craft. It was at the same time intimated that the Scheme was, to have 3 Bands consisting of a Kettle Drum, two Trumpets and Two French Horns to precede the first, the Stewards who lead the Procession, the second to march and play in the Centre and the third to precede the Grand Officers. This Company would necessarily bring on too great an Expence on the Body of Stewards and the Motion was that some of the Lodges of Principal Note, of which Number this was rightly apprehended to be, should of their own free goodwill assist their Brethren in the Stewardship in the Manner proposed. This having been considered & agreed to in other Lodges was consented to in this, And the Ma^r. directed to pay the Sum of One Guinea whenever the Chairman of the Stewards shall call for the same." [Note.—This interesting Minute was written in the large, bold and clear handwritting of Bro. Martin Clare.]
- 1754, March 19. "Bear and Rummer."
- "Bro. Collett was this Night Made a Mason in Order to Qualifie him to attend as one of the Musick at the Ensueing Grand Feast without Fee or reward."

Clothing the Lodge (1733-1756).

- 1733/4 March 4. "It was Resolved to Dine together in this place [viz., The King's Arms Tavern in the Strand] on Lady-day next at 2 o'clock and the Ordinary with regard to Eatables at 3^s. a Head." 16 Members duly paid their proportion forthwith and the Landlord was to attend on "the absent Brethren and inform them of the Design."

King's Arms in the Strand.

1734, Tuesday Apl. 9.	"The Lodge this day convened and met the officers, at 3 o'clock and at 4 an Elegant Entertainment conducted by Br. Bentley [the Landlord] was Served up, Value"		
	The Servants	5.	0. 0
	Clothing of 32 Brethr ^{en} . and as many Sisters }		
	at 5 ^s . 10 ^d . a piece }	9.	6. 8
	The Tyler's Clothg	0.	1. 6
	Wine to Ye. Entertainment	3.	4. 10
£17. 17. 0		17.	17. 0
14. 13. 2			
0. 5. 0	left unspent		

[*Note.*—At the previous meeting the Minutes state: "as there were 17 guineas for the Initiation of the 6 new Made Brethren in *Bank* it was mov'd and carried that the Lo. be now entertained and *cloth'd.*" As, of course, there were no Ladies present Bro. Wonnacott considers that the expression *Sisters* refers to a present of *White Gloves* being made to the Members to *take home to their Sisters* or sweet-hearts, the Brethren themselves merely receiving a *new clean Apron.*]

1756, Dec. Resolved "That the Lodge be *Clothed with Aprons* once a year & at the beginning of the year *gloves for the sisters.*"

1735/6 Feb. 16th. Monday. "Br. Goodchild took Notice that the Clothing of several of the Members were *Missing* and that in particular Br. Thos. Smith could find *none of his Clothing.* It was therefore ordered that for the Future it shall be a Direction to the Tyler that he have all the Clothing of the Members ready hung on *the Back of a Chair* in the Outer Room and that upon each person writing his Name He shall draw forth his Apron ~~from the parcel~~ distinguished by his Name written thereon at length and deliver the same to him; And that in like Manner he shall require the Brethren to leave their said Clothing in his Hands on their Quitting the Lodge and if it should appear that the Clothing of any of the Brethren should on any Night be omitted to be left that he complain thereof to the Lodge for their farther Directions. This is to take place immediately *after the next Clothing.*" Resolved "That the next Clothing of the Lodge be appointed for Dinner on Tuesday, the 9th of March next being Shrove Tuesday at 2 o'clock."

1735, Aug. 4th. "Bro^r. Gravely having used *his own Gloves* at the last Clothing, the Lodge ordered him to be re-imbursed the Money that other Members' Gloves cost them."

1735, Dec. 15th. "As our Repository for the *Members Clothg* is become to Small, it was Moved that a Box be bought to hold the Tapers, this was ordered and the care of it committed to Bro. Wagg." Resolved "That the Members of this Lodge be increased from 31 to 50."

1736, March 16th. "Tuesday. The Society met (by special arrangement) and *were clothed* and entertained with great Order, Decency and reasonable Magnificence."

1746, Dec. 3rd. "Cannon" [Tavern, Charing Cross] Resolved "That the Members of the Lodge should be *new Cloathed* at the Expence thereof; Bro. Tristram ordered to provide *25 New Aprons* for that purpose." The Lodge to be Removed to the "Bear & Rummer" Tavern in Gerrard Street [Soho].

1752, Jany. 7th. Resolved "That at the next Making of a Mason in this Lodge there shall be *New Cloathing Provided.*"

Scientific Lectures.

[It was quite a custom in the Old King's Arms Lodge in 1734—and for some years later—to indulge the Brethren with a Lecture of either a Literary or Scientific nature (quite distinct from the ordinary Masonic Lecture or "Examination.") These evidently were very popular, for at nearly every Lodge Night—at this period—some Bro. (or even a Visitor) offered to read a Lecture to the Brethren in open Lodge; this was often done and seemed to have been a special feature of this old Lodge. This practice almost converted the Lodge into a kind of Mutual Improvement Society, but gradually it became difficult to find Lecturers who would attend punctually to deliver their discourse, and so we note that in 1735 if a Bro. having promised to give a Scientific Lecture failed to do so, he had "to pay a Penalty of a Bottle of Wine."]

1734, Sept. 2. "Bro. Hayman, the Read^r. of this Night being absent & not being in Town as was represented to the Lo. and Br. Wagg attending with his Lecture now prepar'd"—this Lecture on the "*Process of making Iron from the Stone*" &c. &c. was then read by Br. Wagg; "It was however so acceptable to the Society that they unanimously drank to his Health with thanks."

Recipe for a Soup (1734).

- 1734, Dec. 2. Monday. A Lecture was given this night in the Lodge and after much literary discussion the Minutes state "Concluded with Br. Helliott's *Recipe for a Soup*." "Adjourned." [Note.—At the next Lodge Night certain Brethren again asked Br. Helliott to favour them with his Recipe for a Soup, "but he peremptorily declined."]
- 1735/6, Feb. 16. "It happened that Bro. Helliott had the *Misfortune to Swear* in the Lodge and he paid the appointed Fine 1^s. and suffered a Reprimand from the Mast^r. besides."
- 1743, Jan. 4. "Tickets from a Gentleman in misfortune (who was indebted to Bro. Helliott) were sold in open Lodge to oblige Bro. Helliott (he) being an Old Mason and a member of this Lodge." [Note.—Bro. Helliott's acquaintance with the manufacture of a special Soup apparently secured him certain privileges.]
- 1735/6, Feb. 2. "Br. Groeme being prepared with his Lecture was pleased to entertain the Society with the continuation of his excellent Subject; viz.:—the Fermentation of *Intoxicating Liquors* with wh. the Society were as heretofore greatly delighted." [Note.—Bro. William Groeme was an M.D., also Dep.G.M. in 1739-40. He had on a previous occasion given a Lecture on this subject of *Alcohol*; many of these Scientific Lectures were on Medical subjects and often on "Modern Architecture," but we do not read that any Lecture was ever given in the Lodge on the subject of *Temperance*; the expression "Tee-totaler" was not known until about 1820.]
- 1736/7, Feb. 7. "Br. Curson entertained the Society according to his promise this Evening with a Discourse upon the *Beauty of Truth* which he illustrated in a very agreeable Manner and with which the Fraternity seemed very much delighted and accordingly drank a hearty *Glass of Thanks* to him for his instructive Lecture."
- 1755, May 6. "Bear & Rummer."
 "Our Bro. Beck in a long absence composed a Lecture on Masonry, Morality & good fellowship, and was so good as to read it to the members present which mett with great applause."
 "Bro. Beck made a Motion that Madeira was extravagant in the Lodge & without the R.W.M. should order it on particular occasions, it was not to be allow'd of, 2nd. & thirded."

Various Items.

- 1733, Oct. 1. A Ticket was ordered to be bought "in the present Lottery in hopes of success as heretofore for the sake of Charity."
- 1734, July 1. "The Ticket in the late Lottery was reported to have come up a Blank."
1734. The Visitors' fees of 1^s. 0^d. were now raised to 2^s. 0^d., "which the *Doorkeeper* is hereafter to receive from the Visitors offering themselves." [Note.—The expression Inner Guard was not generally used until about 1815; he is here called the "Doorkeeper."]
- 1734, Sept. 2. "The Lodge was this night opened by the S.W. in the absence of the Master." "The Public Healths being Drank the Minutes of the last Convention were read." The Healths of the Master Elect" was drank to with *three times three, &c.*"
- 1735, Sept. 1. "The Master's Health was drank to in a *Brimer*."
 Oct. 20. The Annual A/cs were passed and regularly signed," and it appeared that there was £36.18.2 due from the *Box* and it was paid to the New Officers by Bro. Smith accordingly."
- 1735, Monday Feb. 16. "Bro. Adams paid 6^d. for seating himself unclothed but not naked."
- 1740, Jan. 5. Resolved that "Thomas Kiligrew (a Waiter in this House), [*i.e.*, the King's Arms Tavern, Strand] be Made a Mason in ord^r. to attend this Lodge" and "he was Admitted into the first Degree of Masonry (notwithstanding any Law to the Contrary)."
 "Our R.W.M. acquainted the Lodge that next Wednesday will be held a Quarterly Comm. at the *Divel* [Devil] Tavern, Temple Bar."
- 1741, Oct. 7. "The Laws, Bye-Laws and Penalties were Read."

Rough Minute Book.

The Minutes read twice.

- 1738, June 5. "Bro. St. Lawrance having offered to give a waste book for the Entering of the Rough Minutes it was kindly accepted."
 "Bear & Rummer" Tavern, Gerrard St. [Soho].
- 1746, Jany. 1st. "The Minutes of the last Meeting read a 1st. time" [about 7 p.m].
 "The Minutes were read a 2nd time after 9 and confirmed."

1752, May 5. "Bear and Rummer" Tavern."

Resolved "That as it appeared to them that the Lodge *grows now thin* That the Lodge be Adjourned after one more Meeting to the first Lodge night in October next."

1755, Feb. 4. "The Lodge was opened in due form and the Minutes of the last Lodge were read, and *read again at nine* and confirmed."

"Making Masons."

1753, March 6. "Bear and Rummer Tavern."

Three Candidates were this Night "*Initiated Enterprentices and Fellow Crafts.*" [Note.—This really means that they were Made Masons.]

1755, Mch. 18. "Mr. C. Jones and Mr. John Evans were both this Night Initiated & Made an Enterprentice & Fellow Craft; both were well recommended by Br^o. Baker and Made Masons in order to Perform at the Grand Feast."

"Mr. Geo. Osborn, waiter to Br. Sydenham" [the Landlord] "was this Night Initiated & Made an Enterprentice & Fellow Craft in order *to wait on this Lodge.*" [Note.—He was *not* Raised a Master, this being considered in his case quite unnecessary.]

"The Fellow Craft Sign" [1755.]

1755, Apl. 15. "Bear & Rummer."

"A Motion was made this Night by Br. Beck & seconded by Bro. Caton & third'd by Br. Adstone, R.W. That no Member should come in *with the Fellow Craft sign* when there is enterapprentices in the Lodge Room."

A Cold Collation for Ye Grand Master [1755].

1755, Dec. 2. "Bear & Rummer Lodge."

"A Motion was Made by the R.W.M. & seconded by Br^o. Caton & Ye rest of the Members present to Invite Ye R.W. Grand M^r., Marquis of Carnarvon to come to Visit this Lodge and to have a *Cold Collation* for that purpose."

1756, Jan. 20. "Bear & Rummer Lodge."

"Proposed 2nd. & third'd that Bro. Rosse, a Surgeon & *Man Midwife* in Broad Street, Soho, to be a Member of this Lodge."

Discipline in the Lodge.

Immorality and Irreligion.

1736, May 3rd. Monday. "The following Motion was passed Unanimously for the first time viz^t.—That Nothing tending either to *Immorality or Irreligion* should on any Occasion be introduced or Suffered by this Society in Lodge Hours; And that if any Obscenity or such Levity of Language as may render Religious Persons or Things ridiculous or contemptible be at any time started (be it proposed or come it from whom it will) That Order be called to by the Ma^r. and Fellows and a Stop be put to it at all Events."

Bad Language.

1736, June 6th. Monday. "Br. Curson happened to *make an Escape* in point of decent Language and the Society being of Opinion that he had offended agst the 22nd. of the Gen^l. Laws and he was condemn'd to the Penalty thereof, and submitted to it with great Decency."

1737, Jany. 3rd. Resolved "That no member shall presume to make any light or ludicrous motion to the Chair, and if any Member shall ever make a Motion that shall be judg'd light or ludicrous by the majority of the Members then present, he shall for the first offence be admonish'd by the Master, and upon a Second offence be expell'd for that Night; This pass'd into a Law, for the first time. The E^d. P^s. part was gone through, and the usual healths drank to." "Adjourned."

1750 Feb. 5th. "Bear & Rummer Tavern."

A Clandestine Mason.

"Thomas James visited this Night and Declared himself a member of the Kings Arms Lodge, Tower Street, near the Seven Dials & it Appeared he was a *Member of no Lodge* & Behaved very Indecently; it was the opinion of this Lodge that he never should be admitted here again."

Misbehaviour in the Lodge [1755].

The Deputy Grand Master Insulted.

1755, Jany. 21st. "Bear and Rummer."

"Br. Dodsworth last Lodge Night being Guilty of some bad behaviour in affronting the R^d. W. Mr. in the Cheer, & Br. Carne, and being Call^d to an Account for the same made an Acknowledgement for it, but far from being a Satisfaction to the Majority of this Lodge—But this Night Br. Dodsworth being Guilty of Much Greater Offence by affronting the R^d. W. M. in the Cheer and the Whole Lodge in General, which Occasion'd a great Dispute and *intirely Broke the harmony of the Lodge* and put an end to all Proceedings of Business for the Whole Night after, Upon which The Majority of this Lodge do desire the Sense of the Lodge, upon Account of Br. Dodsworth's Bad Behaviour."

1755. Feb. 4th. "Bear and Rummer."

"Br. Dodsworth having at Different times Occasiond The Harmony of the Lodge to be very much Disturbd as will appear by the Minutes of the two last Lodge Nights, The Majority of the Lodge Desired the sense of the Whole Lodge on that Occasion, The Deputy Grand [Master, Thomas Manningham, M.D.] Coming into our Lodge at that time and looking over The Minutes Inquired into the Merits of What had Happened & Expostulated sometime with Br. Dodsworth about his Past Bad Behaviour but Br. Dodsworth not Behaving, to the Satisfaction of the Lodge, the Majority of the Lodge Demanded a Ballott against Br. Dodsworth which was Carried fifteen to three against him. Br. [Thos.] Preston coming into the Lodge at that time Behaved very Ungenteel to the Deputy Grand and would not Comply to Ballott as the rest of the Brethren did upon Which the Deputy Grand spoke to Br. Preston upon his not Regularly Complying with his Orders, Br. Preston Paying no Regard to the Deputy Grand, but behaving in a very abrupt and affronting Manner to the Deputy Grand Who Immediately Insisted on a Ballott against Br. Preston Upon which Br. Preston Immediately through of [off] his Jewel and Apron and Desired the Sec^y. to Scratch his Name out of the Book:—But the Right W.M. in the Chair [Bro. (Mark) Adston] Haveing a Due Sense of the Indignity Offerd to the Deputy Grand, Immediately Complied with his Orders and Order'd a Ballott which was Carried Sixteen to One against Br. Preston," [who happened to be the Junior Warden].

1755 Feb. 18th. "Bear and Rummer."

"This Night the R.W.M. Chose Br. Cole Jun^r. Warden in the room of Br. Preston."

The "Horn Tavern Lodge," Westminster.

1750, March 5. "Bear & Rummer Tavern."

"Our Brother Payne from the Lodge at the Horn Tavern at Westminster, with many of his Brethren gave this Lodge the Favour of a Visit & we Drank success to their Lodge and the civility was Properly Returned." [Note.—The above visiting Bro. was *George Payne*, G.M. in 1718 and 1720.]

1751, Apl. 2. "Bear & Rummer Tavern."

Resolved "That the Secretary's Jewell (being an extra Jewell) be made a Present to the Lodge at the Horn Tavern at Westminster, on an Intimation given to the Master of this Lodge & other Brethren Attending them on a late Visit made to them, of their wanting one, there being such a Jewell more than necessary belonging to this Lodge."—Memorandum. The House Bill with the Tyler & Waiter amounted to

£2. 7. 0
Recd by 12 Visiting Brethren 12. 0

£ 1. 15. 0 "

1751, May 7. "Bear & Rummer Tavern."

"Several of the Brethren of the Lodge at the Horn Tavern at Westminster gave this Lodge the Favour of a Visit & the Members of this Lodge Drank Success to their Lodge and the Civility were properly Returned."

Hogshead of Red Port [1736].

1736, June 6th. "It was moved that Bro^r. Bentley [the Landlord of the King's Arms Tavern] be desired to procure a Hogshead of such Wine as shall be agreeable to the following Committee Members of the Lo.: Br. Curson, The Ma^r., and Dr. Gröme and that being so procured it shall be bottled & the Corks Sealed with the Ma^rs. Seal and that it shall be then kept for the Use of this Society and that no other Red Port be brought into the Lo. Br. Bentley readily acceded to Y^s. Proposal."

- 1736, Oct. 18th. Monday. It was resolved re the selection of the above wine "That every Member who pleases to attend and assist [the Committee] is free so to do; and when *the piece of Wine is pitched on* by the Gentlemen they are to agree who of them is to see it bottled off & this is to be done in their Presence or some one of them or some person whom they can Trust. This was Appointed to be on Thursday next at 6 in the Evening."
- 1736, Novr. 1st. "The Brethren appointed as a Committee to examine and Seal a Quantity of Wine for the Use of the Lodge having discharged their Duty to the general satisfaction of the Society, their Healths were chearfully drank with thanks for their Trouble & great Care."

Bro. W. J. SONGHURST said:—

Some light is thrown on the question of Masters' Lodges by the records of St. John's Lodge of Boston, Massachusetts.¹

This Lodge was constituted on 30 July, 1733, by Henry Price who three months earlier is stated to have been appointed Provincial Grand Master for New England and the "Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging," by Patent from the Grand Lodge of England under the Grand Mastership of Lord Montague. This was called the 'First Lodge' in Boston, and it now heads the List of Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. It is stated that "Previous to Jan. 29, 1794, the Master Mason degree was not conferred by the Lodge."

The 'Second Lodge' in Boston was warranted under the same authority on 15 February, 1749, although its formation was not reported to London until 1768. These two Lodges were ultimately amalgamated, together with others which had been formed subsequently.

In December, 1738, we find a Masters' Lodge in existence and meeting at the same place as the 'First Lodge,' namely the Sun Tavern, kept by Andrew Haliburton. It is one of those Lodges noted by Lane as never registered in the books of the Grand Lodge of England. Yet the Lodge seems to have been constituted under the same authority as the other two, and Henry Price himself became the first Master.

This Masters' Lodge adopted its own By-Laws and charged its own fees. Its meetings were held on the First Tuesday in every month, while the 'First Lodge' seems to have met on the Second and Fourth Wednesdays.

The Officers of the Lodge were at first elected for six months. They consisted of a Master, Two Wardens, Two Stewards, a Secretary and a Tyler. It is noted that the Senr. Steward was to be Treasurer and the Junr. Steward was to keep an account of Expences so that the Master and Wardens should not be interrupted in their business. The fees were high. Candidates paid Forty Shillings. The joining fee was apparently Twenty Shillings, and a charge of fifteen shillings was made for quarterage. Visitors paid seven shillings and six pence per night.

The nature of the work performed in this Lodge can be judged by the Second By Law of 22 December, 1738:—

No Brother to be raised Master unless he goes throu the Fellow-Craft's Work to the approbation of the Lodge, and such examination to be performd the Lodge night before such Candidate is to be ballotted and raised . . . ;

and by the resolution of 6 July, 1744, when it was:—

Voted that, for the six months ensuing, every Bro^r. present shall pay Five Shillings each, whether there be a raising or not.

¹ *History of Saint John's Lodge of Boston in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.* Privately printed. 1917.

The Lodge possessed its own "Jewells and all other necessary ornaments." In 1745 it was "reported that the Masters Lodge had voted a sett of candles" to the 'First Lodge.'

Here then we have an example of a Lodge working only the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow Craft, with an entirely separate organisation for admitting those who desired to be raised Masters.

There is much else of great interest in the book from which I have taken these notes, but nothing which appears particularly relevant to our subject. I will therefore now turn to the doings of a Lodge in London at about the same period, No. 111 originally constituted 17 February, 1733. The Lodge was in abeyance for a couple of years, and was revived at the Theatre Tavern, Goodman's Fields, Spitalfields, in November, 1736. A few extracts from the Minutes will suffice to show the customary procedure:—

1736, Nov. 22. Brother Huddy proposed Mr. William Clarke of Alie Street Smith to be made a Mason (which being seconded) and Two Guineas and one Shilling being deposited in the Master's hand pursuant to the within Order. It was agreed and ordered that the said William Clarke be ballotted for the succeeding Lodge night.

„ Dec. 13. Mr. William Clarke proposed as within mentioned was this night ballotted for and agreed nem. con. that he be made a Mason next Lodge night.

„ Decr. 20. [A special Lodge to make Capt. Benjamin Lyon] he being to go to Sea before a regular Lodge night.

Also Mr. Wm. Clarke within mentioned was made a Mason.

Also Brother Phillipps was passed Master.

1737, Febry. 28. Brother William Clarke this night passed Fellow Craft and Master pursuant to the resolution of last Lodge. P^d. 5s.

„ June 27. A motion was made by Brother Huddy that Brother Adams and Brother Cock might pass Fellow Craft and Master the next Lodge night. Brother John Allen made the like motion for Brother Rogers. Brother Bolton made the like motion for Brother John Cox.

„ July 11. The following Brethren this night past Fellow Craft and Master viz. Messrs. Rogers and Cox when each paid 5s. pursuant to a former Order. Also Brother Adams and Cock.

„ Sep. 26. Mr. Thomas Singleton was Ballotted for and accepted. Resolved that he be made a Mason next Lodge night.

„ Oct. 10. Mr. Thomas Singleton. . . . was made a Mason and paid the the Customary fee.

„ Nov. 28. Brother Thomas Singleton and Brother Wm. Fernley were passed Fellow Craft and Master, and each paid Five Shillings.

In this case then it is to be assumed that a Candidate was "made a Mason" by mere apprenticeship, and these records reveal a practice not mentioned by Bro. Heiron. The Minutes of many other Lodges might be quoted, and I suggest that it would be extremely useful if these were collected and placed side by side. It is unsafe to base any conclusion upon the proceedings of one or two Lodges.

May I suggest also that when this work is undertaken by Bro. Heiron he should endeavour to forget present-day terminology. The words 'Initiation,' 'Passing,' 'Raising,' 'Installation,' etc., have now for us very definite and distinct meanings, but we shall go far wrong if we assume that they bore the same meanings in the first half of the eighteenth century. Let me give one illustration. Bro. Heiron mentions that Stukeley "was Initiated into the Craft" in 1721. But these are not Stukeley's words. He says "I was made a Freemason" and there is no record of any further degrees. Yet within twelve months he says he "was chose Mr." of a new Lodge.

In 1646 Ashmole used precisely the same words to describe his admission—"I was made a Free-Mason"—and apparently this admission was sufficient to enable him to describe himself as "the Senior Fellow present" at the Lodge he visited in 1682.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

The Lodge is much indebted to Bro. Heiron for his interesting paper, and still more for his assiduity in collecting and collating evidence on this subject. That the subject has so long remained undiscussed in the *Q.C.* is attributable mainly to the paucity of evidence; and, even now, further evidence (from other sources) is desirable ere some important problems connected with it can be conclusively solved.

Among these debatable questions I will mention only one—what did the term 'master' originally denote? On this point W. Bro. Vibert (in his recent Prestonian Lecture) has said "there is undoubtedly a confusion in contemporary terminology, which makes the question difficult to unravel." His own Lectures have however accomplished much in this direction. The body, or Society, from which our present Fraternity has evolved was, down to the seventeenth century, one essentially of operative craftsmen; and when, from time to time, non-operatives were 'accepted' or co-opted to membership they were admitted by a ritual based upon that which was customary, at that time and in that part of England, among operative masons when ordinary apprentices were admitted in that trade. For that purpose *inter alia* the operatives held 'lodges' in their workrooms, and the presiding officer was a senior craftsman, who to that extent was regarded as a 'Master of the Lodge' and who may have been so called.

But (as Bro. Vibert has shewn) that 'Master' was not thereby a 'master mason,' any more than a 'Master Mason' to-day is thereby 'Master of a Lodge.' The days of cathedral-building operatives, who travelled about from one minster to another, were long past. Permanent Gilds existed in many large towns, and were the determining bodies in regard to employment in operative masonry and other analogous trades. But those Gilds were essentially sodalities of employers; and they were the real 'master masons.' The purpose of such 'Companies' was to maintain their interests as employers, by minimising trade competition and by curbing undercutting in prices. To quote Bro. Vibert's own words—"The Masters in the Gild were always a body apart from and above the Lodge and Fellows. They were men of skill and recognised social status; and it is by no means impossible that they had amongst themselves special customs and cherished traditions of great master-builders." I hope (and believe) that Bro. Vibert and I are in accord on this point, for he has now altered his expression 'Masters of the Gild' (*vide* "Trigradal System," p. 19) to 'Masters in the Gild.' There was of course a 'Master of the Gild'; but I regard *all the members* in that Gild as 'masters'—entitled and allowed by their colleagues to enter into trade contracts as employers.

When, in the eighteenth century, the Masonic fraternity (which, as I have already premised, had originated among the craftsmen, not the masters) became gradually dominated by 'speculative' members, these distinctions between masters and men lapsed; because Freemasons had ceased to be either one or the other. The Craft having by that time become a federation of what were, to all intents and purposes, convivial clubs, kept up a ritual (expressing a symbolic system of ethics) which had come down from its operative predecessors. The Master of the Lodge had to be of the 'Fellow' grade in order to satisfy the operatives; and the 'Fellows' knew that there was a ritual called "the Master's part," occasionally practised by an independent but allied Society. Thus, I submit, these 'Masters' Lodges' were the surviving remnant of the once-powerful 'Masters in the Gild.' As an optional grade and for an additional fee they would confer the status of 'Master Mason' upon applicants who had become eligible by being 'made' Masons in a formally recognised Lodge; and they

conferred it by means of a ritual in dramatic form (like a Miracle Play) which, by its own intrinsic merit, led gradually to the universal acceptance of that grade as the sublime Degree in Freemasonry.

Our Bro. Heiron's paper offers scope for comment on many other matters, but I have already exceeded reasonable brevity and must therefore leave their discussion to other Brethren.

I very cordially support the vote of thanks to Bro. Heiron.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

When Brother Heiron's paper was read in Lodge, certain comments were made by me some of which were not convenient to be reduced to writing. The following may however be worthy of record:—

While we all appreciate the work done by our Brother in the collection of information on his subject, there are some observations and expressions of opinion which bear upon topics not directly touching his subject, and result in conclusions made by him which do not always command assent.

He says, "As far as I know, no Antient Lodge ever held a Masters' Lodge." I do not think Laurence Dermott would have admitted that for an instant. Every Lodge opened for the purpose of raising a Master is now and always has been a Masters' Lodge; it was not necessary that a Masters' Lodge should be advertised as such. The Old Dundee Lodge is shown in the paper as being an example of this. Nor does Brother Heiron prove that the Lodges in his list were "used merely for the purpose of working the 3°." The natural interpretation of the expression, "A Masters' Lodge," seems to be that, in that particular assembly of Freemasons, there were members who were able and willing, in addition to other Masonic work, to confer upon qualified candidates the privileges (whatever they then were) of what for convenience of expression we may call the third degree. How far that degree was then completed is a matter on which our knowledge is only fragmentary—but this is not a fitting opportunity for digression.

Brother Heiron refers to the degree of Holy Royal Arch being worked in some cases *secretly*. Perhaps he means *illicitly*. I am not aware that it has ever been worked otherwise than *secretly*.

After the pains which Brothers Vibert and Tuckett (not to mention others), have been at to expound their views that the ceremony of Raising a Master can be traced back to a period long antecedent to 1717, it seems somewhat unkind to allege that "If there is one thing more certain than another "in the early history of the Craft it is that in 1717—the date when the First "Grand Lodge of the world was constituted—the ceremony of *Raising a Master*, "or the working of what we now generally understand as the 3° was practically "unknown." When our Brother goes on to say that he feels he is on rather safe ground when he ventures to suggest that not one of the Members of the Four Old Lodges had ever been *Raised a Master*, it seems necessary to dissent from his proposition so that judgment may not be deemed to go by default.

If my memory serves me at all, our Brother Heiron is not one of that band of Brothers who unite in treating Dr. Anderson as a person utterly unworthy of any credence. Now Dr. Anderson in his 1738 Edition of the *Constitutions* (p. 109) gives the only accepted account of the formation of Grand Lodge and he there refers twice to "the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master of a Lodge*)" as Chairman of the Assemblies. Does Brother Heiron really mean that the oldest Master Mason had not been raised a Master and was only a Fellow Craft? He seems to say so, but such an allegation should be supported by something more nearly approaching evidence than the vague and as yet unexplained observation of Dr. Stukeley.

Then again our Brother speaks of "the approaching advent of the 3°" as explaining to some extent the eagerness to join the Craft. Apparently,

according to the paper, those who were in the Craft knew little or nothing of the 3°, and yet we are to believe that the uninstructed and popular world, then outside the Masonic circle, were so thrilled by the approaching advent of the 3° that they were for that reason eager to join. How came the uninstructed outsider to know anything about it?

In the same connection our essayist would lead us to infer that it was necessary to be a Fellow Craft Freemason before one was in truth and in fact *made a Mason*.

What authority is there for saying that in 1721 the Degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft both given on the same night were worked in a Craft Lodge?

"The General Regulations compiled first by Mr. George Payne Anno '1720' and approv'd on St. John Baptist's Day Anno 1721, as edited by Anderson in the 1723 Edition of the *Constitutions*, ordain by Regulation XIII. that "Apprentices must be admitted *Masters and Fellow Craft* only here" (that is at the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge) "unless by a "Dispensation." If language has any meaning, it would appear from this that, in particular Lodges, at that time, nothing more was done (unless by a dispensation, which is an exceptional thing) than the making of Entered Apprentices. The passing to Fellow Craft was reserved to Grand Lodge.

The reasoning and allegations contained in the section of the paper beginning "In the early days of Freemasonry the degree of a Fellow Craft—originally described as a 'Fellow of the Craft'—was almost equivalent to "the Master Mason of 1926," and ending "It seems obvious, therefore, that "originally this degree of a Fellow Craft was considered as important as the "3° of a Master Mason," leaves very much to be desired. It may be my density, but it is very far from being obvious to me. I must, however, content myself again with recording my dissent, as the question ranges beyond the immediate subject of the paper.

Our essayist also asks why certain obligations leading up to the Installation of a Master are performed in a Fellow Craft's Lodge. One rejoinder seems to be that, as all the Brethren, including Entered Apprentices, are entitled to elect the incoming Master, it is at least fitting that those who have passed to the degree of a Fellow Craft should be present when he is put under that particular obligation.

As Bro. Heiron brings forward no evidence to support his allegation that the two degrees of E.A. and F.C. were *originally* worked on the same night, he has no right to expect us to adopt his dogma on the subject, especially in view of the XIIIth Regulation above cited. Is there any record whatever of the conferring of the first two degrees on the same night prior to the revocation of Regulation XIII. on 22nd Nov., 1725?

Brother Heiron does not cite any such record. The earliest example mentioned in his paper seems to be the special case of Viscount Weymouth and Viscount Kilmurray on 27 March, 1734.

I have quoted Anderson 1738 *Constitutions* as dating the partial Repeal of Regulation XIII. 22nd Nov., 1725 (p. 160 of 1738). The true date appears to be 27 Nov., 1725, as per *Q.C.A.* x., 64, and Anderson gives it correctly at p. 119.

The motion as given in *Q.C.A.* x., seems to have an important bearing on the title "Masters' Lodges" and may possibly explain why, subsequently to 27th Nov., 1725, some Lodges came to be called "Masters' Lodges." It runs thus:—

"A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the Gen^l. Regulations relating to the making of Ma^{rs}. only at a Quarterly Communication may be repealed And that the Ma^{rs}. of Each Lodge with the Consent of his Wardens and the Majority of the Brethren being Ma^{rs}. may make Ma^{rs}. at their Discretion."

"Agreed Nem Con."

It would seem to be a natural consequence of the above that such Lodges (or some of them) as were able to comply with the terms of the amendment as to a "Majority of the Brethren *being Ma^{rs}.*," would rightly intimate their qualification by having the words "A Masters' Lodge" added to their description in the Engraved Lists.

In *Q.C.A.* ix. (the proceedings of the Philo Musicae Societas) it is stated at page 7 that Charles Cotton, Papillon Ball, and Thomas Marshall, who had previously been made Masons in regular Lodges therein specified, were, before that Society was founded, passed Fellow Crafts. The date of such passing appears (by page 8) to have been 18th February, 1724 (1724-5).

I can hardly think that after this evidence Bro. Heiron will seek to maintain his allegation that the *original* method was to confer the degrees of E.A. and F.C. on the same night.

The opinion of Bro. Edwin Booth as to the sublimity of the 3° is quoted. It should, however, be remembered that the Degree as worked in America is much more elaborate than in England.

The reasons given why Craftsmen should shrink from being Raised Master Masons are interesting, but unconvincing. One is that the supposed terrors of the degree may have frightened F.C.'s away. Were our Brethren so unmindful of their obligations as to communicate the secrets of the 3° to the Fellow Crafts?

The idea of the "large sum" of 5s. payable as a Raising Fee being considered prohibitory in many cases carries its own refutation with it.

In a Note we are told that there was not the slightest necessity nor compulsion in 1760 for any F.C. to be *raised a Master*.

I have yet to learn that there is any such compulsion in 1926.

I have purposely refrained from discussing at any length various points incidentally mentioned in the paper, but have confined myself in these observations to the framing of certain demurrers with indications of some facts which seem to me to justify caution in accepting as proved some of those things which our Brother states to be clear and obvious.

Bro. VIBERT writes:—

It is a pity that, although the subject of Bro. Heiron's paper is Masters' Lodges, he begins by making certain statements as to the Third Degree before the days of these bodies, that can only be described as controversial in the extreme. The events of 1725 and earlier and the development of the trigradal system have in fact very little connection with his subject. What does seem to be fairly clear is that after the system of three degrees was established, the third of those three was in the condition of a luxury; it led to nothing; it was not a prerequisite for any advancement in the order. Exactly when this state of affairs first developed we do not know; but it is safe, I believe, to state that it was in existence by 1730. The earliest Masters' Lodge to be so described is of 1733.

Bro. Heiron says "If there is one thing more certain than another it is . . ." that Raising a Master was unknown before 1717. I dispute this statement absolutely. But as it is entirely irrelevant to the paper, I do not stop to discuss it. The further statement that none of the members of the Four Old Lodges were Masters is contradicted by all the evidence, and the language of Anderson himself disproves it, if his words are to have any meaning at all. But once more the assertion is irrelevant. As to Montagu, Anderson definitely tells us he was the Master of a Lodge; Bro. Heiron seems to think it significant that Anderson nowhere speaks of Raised Masters. But he is unaware that until 1738, the term used of the conferring the degree was *passed*, not *raised*. It is surely not remarkable that Anderson should fail to use a term that had not as yet been invented.

Bro. Heiron goes on to speak of the degree as evolved from excellent material such as the Hiramic Legend. So that he concedes that the Hiramic Legend is an old possession of the Craft. But if it was, what was its function? How did it figure in the ceremonies? The consideration of this point, however, is once more not strictly relevant to the subject of the paper.

Bro. Heiron states that the degree was at first only worked in Masters' Lodges, bodies allied to, but working independently of the ordinary Lodges, and the first of such Lodges that he can find is of date 1733. He says the degree was not worked by the Lodges themselves until 1745, but he qualifies this statement by the words "in London." In 1727, the Lodge at the Swan and Rummer, on April 27, summoned a Lodge of Masters for Friday next, and on that day in the Lodge four persons were admitted Masters. This is an unmistakeable case of a Lodge calling a meeting in the third degree. It continued to do so; *vide* Hughan, *O. of E.R.*, 45; and the pages that follow give a series of similar instances.

Bro. Heiron has, as it seems to me, left the problems connected with this question very much where he found them, although we must be grateful to him for having brought together a certain amount of interesting material, much of which is none the less interesting for having no direct bearing on the subject of the paper.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The value of the facts brought together by Bro. Heiron cannot be questioned, but underlying the reasoning is the postulate that all genuine Masonic traditions are derived from the Grand Lodge of 1717. For instance, it is stated that in 1717 the 3° was practically unknown. It would be safer and perhaps nearer the truth to say that it was practically unknown to the Apprentices and Fellow Crafts who constituted themselves a Grand Lodge at that date. But as Masters' Lodges appear to have been held quite separate from Craft Lodges, their ignorance is merely on a par with that in many Lodges at the present day concerning the Royal Arch and is no evidence of non-existence.

Then it is suggested Desaguliers and others helped to evolve the third degree, having excellent material such as the Hiramic legend to work into it. Yet we know nothing of the Hiramic legend apart from ritual, and its survival in secrecy as ritual is far more likely than its transmission as a mere legend.

The Antients are said to have held no genuine Masters' Lodges, the reason being that in 1751 the third degree was well known to the Moderns. But there is ample evidence that outside of the constituted Lodges there were Masters' Lodges that conferred all three degrees. The Apollo Musical Society of 1725 was one instance; the Minutes quoted by Bro. Heiron for 1744 (Bro. Bennet's case) and also Bro. Thirkle's case in 1754 suggest similar Lodges were in existence. The practice of the Antients would therefore be a continuation of tradition and not a borrowing from the Moderns.

My own opinion is that just as Fellow Craft Lodges considered themselves entitled to accept initiates and confer on them the secrets preceding the F.C. degree, so the Masters' Lodges claimed the right to accept initiates and confer on them the preceding secrets. The constituted Lodges would look upon this as a trespass on their privileges and Masters' Lodges acknowledged by the Grand Lodge would necessarily have to content themselves with Fellow Crafts as their raw material. The original attempt of Grand Lodge was to restrict the constituted Lodges to the work of making apprentices (O.R. xiii.). They gave way and recognised Lodges of Fellow Crafts. The Masters' Lodges were tolerated and later on were absorbed, while the R.A. was at first repudiated and then given a special Grand Chapter and eventually accepted as part of the third degree at the Union. The whole history is not, in my opinion, one of invention, but one of discovery and acceptance. Grand Lodge started with very

little knowledge, but owing to the importance which they were able to assume they rapidly conquered the secrets of Masonry preserved in Lodges of higher degree and in the provinces. The letter of Verus Commodus of 1725, in speaking of the fifth order and the hocus pocus word, says that the doctor claimed to have *discovered*, which is a very different action from having *invented*.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I have enjoyed every word of Bro. Heiron's paper and thank him for the entertainment: still its title is misleading, for we get a prodigious deal of sack to a very small piece of bread; in other words, he has given us very little indeed about Masters' Lodges, and I could wish that he had grouped together all the references to the subject known to him, for information given by the critics of a paper by way of comment is never so valuable, to my mind, as when embodied in a balanced statement of all the available evidence. So I think that while Brother Heiron's paper contains a great deal that is of value, on which I congratulate him, it would have been a great deal more valuable to us if he had not confined himself to one district and a couple of Lodges. Brother Heiron in this essay has been too proud, and has sternly confined himself to what he has discovered himself: I propose in my comments to adopt a different attitude and to take a wider view of the subject drawn from the records of widely separated districts and the work of many well-known Masonic scholars.

In the first place: when we come across the term Masters' Lodge in the early days of organised Freemasonry we may have to distinguish between them, for there were three kinds of Masters' Lodges, English, Irish and Scotch, each conferring, I believe, a separate degree. I am only following in other men's footsteps when I identify these with the Master Mason's, the Installed Master's and the Mark degree. With the two latter we are not concerned to-night; but I have grouped here some extracts which seem to go to show that the Irish and Scots Masters were different degrees from the English Master.

Emile Daruty *Recherches sur le Rite Ecossais Ancien Accepté* (p. 178) says:—" . . . mais nous constatons, avant 1730, l'existence à Paris, de chapitres irlandais, prétendant tenir leurs constitutions d'un Grand Chapitre de Dublin, et dont les grades (petit maître anglais, maître anglais, maître irlandais, parfait maître irlandais, puissant maître irlandais) sont alors généralement répandus en France."

[. . . we note, before 1730, the existence in Paris of Irish Chapters, claiming to hold a charter from a Grand Chapter in Dublin, and whose degrees (Petty English Master, English Master, Irish Master, Perfect Irish Master, Puissant Irish Master) were then common in France.]

This statement of Daruty must be taken with caution, for it is based on assertions made by Thory and Clavel. However we find in Findel (*Hist. of F.M.* 1866, page 223) a quotation from a MS. seen by Kloss, drawn up for the use of St. John's Lodge Metz, which must, he considers be prior to 1751: "It is well known that the Order was at first known only in the first three degrees. There are indeed Lodges, such as the Lodge Barnabal at Montpellier, for example, which would acknowledge no other degree than these three; but for those very reasons which I wish to allege in the Scots degree, it has been proved that the Order has at all times consisted of nine degrees, which however have only come down to us gradually, and that we might receive this inheritance some zealous Brethren have penetrated into the very heart of the island of Albion, the sanctuary of these sacred degrees. They are: apprentice, fellow-craft, master, perfect master or Irish architect, elect master, Scots apprentice, fellow-craft and master, and knight of the East." Daruty (*op. cit.*, p. 181) quotes the same passage from Findel, but gives the sequence of degrees as follows: apprenti; compagnon; maître; maître parfait; ou architecte irlandais; maître élu; apprenti, compagnon et maître écossais; Chevalier d'Orient. This gives a rite of seven degrees.

These extracts, whatever we think of them, show that some sort of difference existed between the English and Irish Master's degrees.

As to the Scots Masters, we have very strong evidence in the Minutes of Lodge of Antiquity No. 2. Thus on 5th April, 1737, we find two Brethren "passing Master" (Rylands, p. 49), while on the 17th June, 1740, nine Members were made "Scotch Master Masons" (*op. cit.*, p. 105). Rylands points out that in the first instance no mention is made of a Masters' Lodge and nothing marks the meeting as an extraordinary event; and in the second instance that we have here something quite distinct from the English Master Mason Degree.

Scotch Masters were also made at the Bear Lodge in Bath in October, 1735 (Somerset Masters' Transactions 1917, p. 305), and on numerous later occasions.

We are told in the "Parfait Maçon" (1744) that those Masons calling themselves Scotch Masters "affirm that they form a fourth degree." (Quoted by Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 220.) And the 20th articles of the Regulations drawn up by the Grande Loge Anglaise de France in December, 1743, shows that this body apparently recognised only Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts and considered that Scotch Masters were an excrescence. (French text in Daruty, p. 97; English version in Findel, p. 220.)

I think we are justified in concluding from these extracts that a Masters' Lodge held *anywhere* might be celebrating any one of at least three degrees, and the fact is worth bearing in mind when we are considering the (too often) scanty Minutes of the eighteenth century Brethren.

Reference has very properly been made in the paper to the recent Prestonian Lectures delivered by a Past Master of this Lodge and to my mind they have established one fact beyond dispute: that at some date between 1723 and 1725 the Entered Apprentice's Degree was split into two, now known to us as the Apprentice and Fellowcraft Degrees; my own opinion is that the existing Fellowcraft degree was then re-named Master Mason and as such is with us still. Brother Heiron seems more inclined to believe that a new degree was invented, and quotes the famous passage from Stukeley's diary in confirmation. Here, of course, we touch on a matter of opinion. I should like to point out, however, that the very difficulty in finding Masons able to perform the ceremony shows a certain complication of ritual at this very early date of 1721, and those of us who remember our first attempts at learning the ritual will agree that while the first two degrees are not so difficult to acquire, that of the Master Mason is very difficult indeed, and was infinitely more so in the days when there were no Lodges of Instruction.

To this division of the Degrees I would ascribe the fact that while in some Lodges the Master Mason's Degree was given as a matter of course, in others a Masters' Lodge was summoned. The same thing held good in other Constitutions. In Ireland by 1729 the Master Mason's Degree was looked upon as an essential for any Mason who wished to hold office in his Lodge; yet in 1751 we find the Provincial Grand Master's Lodge in Cork holding Masters' Lodges, exactly the same as was happening in some places in England at the same time:—"23rd April, 1751. This being a Master's Lodge . . . a Fellow Crafts Lodge first opened . . . then the Fellow Crafts Lodge was clos'd, and a Master's being opened . . ." two brethren "were raised Masters."

From the annals of the same Constitution I can give Brother Heiron instances of the two first Degrees being conferred together till a very much later period than 1809; the greater difficulty indeed would have been to find instances before 1858 (when the practice was forbidden by the Grand Lodge of Ireland) where they were *not* conferred together. Open any Irish Minute Book at random prior to that date and you will get numerous entries such as:—"Lodge met being an emergency called to (and did) Initiate Mr. Henry Horn & Mr. Danl. Basil Cummins to received the 1st & 2nd. degrees of Masonry." (St. John's Lodge, No. 321, Tullamore, 22nd April, 1841.)

When Brother Heiron points out that the working tools of a Fellowcraft are the most important known to us, he is giving us another survival of the state of things prior to 1725. I will amplify it by a request to any Brother present to give us an instance of the working tools of a Master Mason, as known to us now, occurring in any Lodge inventory or in any spurious ritual prior to the year 1830. I think that no one here will be able to offer an example. What I am disposed to conclude is that the old tradition of there being only two degrees in Craft Freemasonry, Brethren and Fellows, existed down to a very late period indeed. We could not have a better example than in Old Dundee itself of a venerable Lodge being unwilling to change its old manner of going, even at the bidding of the Governing Body of the Craft. I would take the date 1769 as the period at which it came into line. I think we have been given no evidence whatsoever that the Holy Royal Arch had anything to do with Masters' Lodges: I do not deny the possibility, but we have been given no evidence.

In Scotland the practice also seems to have varied according to district. In a review of a book on Scots Masonry in *A.Q.C.* vi., 73, we are given an instance of an old Lodge Kelso No. 58 forming a "Lodge of Masters" for the first time on 18th June, 1754; whereas other Scots Lodges were well acquainted with the Degree. Thus a form of certificate written into the Minute Book of a Dumfries Lodge and dated 1755 runs:—"And after having served a just and lawful time to an Enterprentice we Proceeded to Pass him through Jordan where he behaved himself soberly honestly and faithfully himself of the Duties of a Craftsman under the direction of Adoniram. The Right Worshipful Society seeing the goodness of his Morals and his love to ye Craft after these duties discharged took him from thence to ye Pinacle of ye Temple and there discovered to him ye beauty of Masonry by raising him from a Craftsman to ye dignity of Master." (Quoted in "Masonry of the Olden Time in the Comber District" by Bro. W. G. Simpson, 1926; page 48.)

The final extracts from the Minutes of Old King's Arms Lodge are, of course, full of good things. I would emphasize two of them.

(1) The reference to *Chapter* under date 6th August, 1733, which reminds us of Dr. Desaguliers "Making Chapters" a couple of years later.

(2) The form of certificate referred to 1st March, 1748. I wish that Brother Heiron had given us the exact wording, for it is the very earliest form of such a document yet discovered.

I have very much pleasure in supporting a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKET writes:—

The announcement of a forthcoming paper on the subject of 'Masters' Lodges' seemed to promise that we should receive some further light concerning those 'Scots Masons' and 'Scots Masters' who figure in the Lists of the period 1733-1746. It is a disappointment to find that Bro. Heiron does not touch upon this matter in his communication, but there is still the hope that it will arise in the course of the Discussion which should follow the reading. There was a 'Scotch' or 'Scott's' Masons Lodge at the Devil, Temple Bar, in 1733. It is mentioned in *Rawlinson's List* of 1733, *Pine's List* of 1734, and *The Pocket Companion* of 1735. Then there is the record of the 'Scots Master Masons' at Bath in 1735 (Min. of the R. Cumberland Lodge), and the similar entry concerning 'Scotch Master Masons' at the Lodge of Antiquity in 1740, and 'Scots Masons' and 'Scotch Masters' at Salisbury and Bath in 1746. On the Continent during the same period we have mention of the Grade of *Ecossois* in Belgium in 1733, *Ecossois* Degrees in Paris in 1737, and a 'Scots Lodge' at Berlin in 1741. The apparent identity in dates and names is very remarkable, and at first sight it may seem that 'Scots Masonry' and 'Maçonnerie Ecossoise'

must be one and the same thing, and indeed it is just *possible* that this is the solution to the puzzle.

But Bros. Songhurst and Gordon Hills have provided a simpler explanation (*A.Q.C.* xxxii., 31-39). The latter holds that 'the knowledge to be gained 'in Royal Arch, Scots and Irish Masters Lodges and in the unexplained English 'Masters Lodges of early date, was very similar.' The former considers that the appearance of 'Masters Lodges' and 'Scots Masters Lodges' in 1733 may have been an outcome of the visit of Desaguliers to Edinburgh in 1721, and that 'something very suggestive of . . . the Royal Arch was known to 'Masons in the early years of Grand Lodge.' Bro. Songhurst traces the R.A. Masonry of the Antients of 1751 through the Irish Grand Lodge of 1725 (or earlier) to the premier Grand Lodge of 1717 in London, and concludes that at its inception the Moderns G.L. of 1717 may have possessed Masonic Instruction which was subsequently lost in the Lodges under its rule.

The programme of work here assigned to the *early* 'Masters Lodges' is more extensive than that indicated by Bro. Heiron, whose view is that 'at first 'they were used merely for the purpose of working the 3°; later on, the degree 'of Holy Royal Arch was worked . . .'

Whatever Bro. Heiron's intention may have been the general impression conveyed by his various references to the 3° is that the Hiram Legend was not a part of Freemasonry until after 1717, when Desaguliers, Anderson, Payne and other 'sponsors' introduced it for the first time in a brand new invention (the 3°). This conception of the evolution of the Trigradal System is absolutely untenable in the light of the evidence already available. I will now present (in barest outline) my own theory about the advent of the Trigradal System and its bearing upon the subject now under discussion.

Article II., of the Articles of Union 1813, lays down the law still in force that there are ' . . . three degrees, and no more . . . ' This is sometimes described as a badly drafted Article, but I do not share that opinion. The intention of the Article I take to be to establish what constitutes Full-Membership of the Order and the DEGREES necessary to confer Full-Membership. Now 'Membership' and 'Office' are quite distinct. A man can be a full-member of the Order without ever holding any *Office* within the Order. Thus Article II. gives to the word DEGREES the signification Masonic Ceremonies which confer Membership of the Masonic Order. But besides DEGREES our *post-Union* Masonic Instruction includes certain other Ceremonies which confer upon a Brother certain 'Offices' to each of which are assigned peculiar Secrets. Such Ceremonies are not technically 'Degrees,' but it is not unusual to hear them spoken of as 'Chair-Degrees' and the expression is a convenient one for general use. Our present Trigradal System thus consists of *Three Degrees* but *Eight Ceremonies*:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| { | (a) Three DEGREES conferred in Four Steps:—E.A.—F.C.—
M.M.—R.A. |
| { | (b) Four Ceremonies not Degrees:—Installations of W.M.—J.—
H.—Z. |

Class (a) are DEGREES necessary for *membership* of the various stages in the Order. Class (b) are *not* necessary for full membership but are associated with tenure of office within the Order. Thus the number of Degrees and the number of separate Ceremonies is not now—and *need never at any period have been*—the same. I suggest that in the days of the Two-Degree System there were more than Two Ceremonies. 'The Master's Part' certainly included the Hiram Legend, and it was part of Freemasonry before (it does not now matter *how long* before) the year 1717. I suggest that before, in, and for a few years after, the year 1717 'The Master's Part' was in the position of Class (b) above, that is not a 'Degree' as it did not form part of the Masonic Instruction which was necessary to convert a Profane (non-Mason) into a *Full-Member* of the Society. The 'Full-Member' at that time was, I suggest, in possession of the same Masonic Instruction as is the F.C. of to-day. The Master's Part was, I

suggest, conferred only on Masons who either were already Masters, *i.e.*, ruling a Craft Lodge, or were about to become Masters in that sense. I do not suggest that it was 'The Master's Part' which then converted a non-Master into a Master-in-the-Chair. It seems to me rather that at that period a man became a Master-in-the-Chair first (either with or without a ceremony of Installation) and that then he could receive The Master's Part or do without it as he pleased, or perhaps as the custom of his Lodge dictated.

Two-Degree Freemasonry I conceive consisted of:—

- (a) Two DEGREES at the time generally conferred consecutively on the same occasion.

I° Apprentice or Entered Mason.

II° Fellow Mason or Entered Fellow.

These two were necessary for Full Membership. The II° was necessary for Mastership.

- (b) The Master's Part. A ceremony with Secrets conferred only upon Masters-in-the-Chair or those about to become Masters-in-the-Chair. Not therefore a DEGREE. It *certainly* contained the H.A.B. Legend. Also *probably* what we know as the Installed Master's part. Also *possibly* the essentials of the R.A.

The Trigradal System came into being by transferring The Master's Part or a portion of it, namely the Hiram portion (with *possibly* the essentials of our present R.A.), from Class (b) into Class (a)—thereby raising the standard of Full-Membership of the Order. This now became the III. DEGREE or that of 'Master-Mason' and was conferred upon Brethren of the II° whether they were about to become Masters-in-the-Chair or not. The resulting Trigradal System thus consisted of:—

- (a) Three DEGREES conferred in three steps but the first two still often given on same occasion.

I°. Entered Apprentice. Same as Entered Mason.

II°. Fellow Craft. Same as Entered Fellow.

III°. Master Mason. The Hiram portion of The Master's Part, with *possibly* the essentials of the R.A.

These three now necessary for Full Membership, *but* apparently I° II° continued to be the qualification for the *Office* of Master-in-the-Chair.

- (b) The remainder of The Master's Part. That is the Installation of a Master-in-the-Chair, and *possibly* the Installations of the Three Rulers in a R.A. body, but these are probably later.

This is the Trigradal System of to-day with the one difference that the R.A. (if it ever formed a part of the original III°) is now conferred as a separate step, still, however, retaining the nature of a DEGREE, *i.e.*, necessary for Full-Membership of the Order.

In the *Mason's Examination* of 1723 we have (I suggest) all that an outsider could learn about *Two Degrees and* a further ceremony. In this 'exposure' the Master's Part is as clearly something beyond the Fellow as the Fellow is something beyond the Entered Mason. I fully agree that the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* refers to two DEGREES and no more, but I also agree with Bro. Baxter that the same book reveals the existence of a class of 'Masters' possessing Masonic Instruction all their own.

By Article XIII. (in the 1723 *B. of C.*) Grand Lodge sought to control elections to the Chair in its subordinate Lodges by restricting to G.L. Meetings the working of the Degree which conferred eligibility. What was this Degree?

In my opinion it was the II° Entered-Fellow substantially the same as our present-day F.C.

The theory thus outlined is of course no more than a conjectural hypothesis, and there may be objections to it more serious than any which have occurred to me while comparing it with the evidence. If so, these will soon be pointed out by those who are interested in our present discussion. The theory, however, accounts for the phenomenon of the 'Masters' Lodges' of 1733 onwards as survivals of bodies working The Master's Part exclusively—a ceremony beyond the then existing DEGREES—and for their close association with particular Lodges, it being the business of the Lodges *as such* to work the DEGREES.

The contention that the R.A. was known in 1717 but subsequently lost in the Moderns Lodges is too weighty to be set aside, and it suits my theory admirably. When, in 1724-5, The Master's Part became the Third DEGREE it is not unlikely that the opportunity was taken to cut adrift the R.A. portion—hence the 'loss' spoken of by Bro. Songhurst, namely, the disappearance of certain Masonic Instruction in Moderns Masonry. I suggest that the Scots Masons or Scots Masters Lodges, such as that at the Devil in Rawlinson's 1733 List, were survivals of bodies keeping alive the R.A. working amongst Masons of the Moderns party, at a time when in the Moderns Lodges (as such) it had lapsed entirely.

There are some statements in the course of Bro. Heiron's paper which invite comment. There were, he says, no Masters' Lodges under the Antients G.L. of 1751. This rather suggests that before the advent of the Trigradal System 'The Master's Part' was more extensively worked in the Lodges *outside* the jurisdiction of the Moderns G.L., and that when the change came the 'Third Degree' more easily took its place in the 'St. John's Lodges' than clearly was the case in the so-called 'Regular' ones. It is very important to note that the change (Two to Three Degrees) may, for all that we know, have originated in the St. John's Lodges, and have been copied from them by the Moderns. The contemporary evidence available comes (practically all of it) from one side, the G.L. side, and this greatly adds to the difficulty of the subject.

Dr. Stukeley, in his *Common Place Book*, does not tell us that he was 'Initiate' in 1721. The expression he uses is 'made a Freemason.'

Bro. Heiron agrees with my theory that the 'Two Degress' were (he says 'down to 1721') substantially the same as the present day I° and II°, but we must not take him literally when he tells us that 'In the early days of Freemasonry the degree of a Fellow Craft . . . was almost equivalent to the 'Master Mason of 1926.'

Bro. Heiron states that 'In 1926 on Installation Nights the necessary questions are still put to the M.-elect (and he also takes his obligation) in a 'Lodge opened in the 2°, whilst he continues to exhibit the sign of a Fellow 'Craft.' Bro. Heiron considers that 'these important items of the Ritual 'should be performed whilst the Lodge is opened in the 3°.' But is it not a fact that where the working of a *pre-Union* Ritual survives the whole of the Installation ceremony, except the portion reserved for Installed Masters, is carried out in an E.A. Lodge? At any rate, such is certainly the case in one Province.

The well-known 'Note: There is not one Mason in a hundred, &c., &c.,' occurs in a letter in *The Daily Journal*, 15 August, 1730.

BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES writes:—

Although we are, I am sure, grateful to Bro. Heiron for having given us a number of verbatim extracts from the early Minute Books of Old Dundee Lodge and Old King's Arms Lodge, yet many must have read, or heard, this paper with feelings of considerable disappointment, because little, if any, further light has been thrown upon the problem of the origin, purpose and use of the so-called Masters' Lodges.

Bro. Heiron suggests that the subject, owing to its complexity, has been left severely alone from 1886, when Bro. Lane read his paper to the Lodge, until 1926, when re-opened by himself. In making this suggestion he fails to give any recognition to Bro. W. J. Hughan, who in his 2nd Edition of *The Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, published in 1909, revised and brought up to date his opinions concerning this subject, devoting some twenty pages to it. Perhaps, however, Bro. Heiron has not read this standard work, for he has not in any way referred to Bro. Hughan's conclusions upon the matter.

I also note with much regret that the list of Masters' Lodges, copied from Lane's *Records*, is admittedly not a full one, and consequently loses its value. Lists of this kind *must* be accurate and *must* be complete, if they are to save students the necessity of going over the same ground and re-tabulating the material.

Then, again, Bro. Heiron has made no attempt to incorporate into his list of Masters' Lodges those many Lodges of the eighteenth century which, though not designated as such in the Engraved Lists, did as we now know from their records meet in Masters' Lodges. It needs but a glance at his paper to tell us that Bro. Heiron has made no effort to analyse the information which the records of these Lodges disclose, although they have a vital bearing upon the subject, and in the aggregate indicate, with some exactitude, the meaning placed upon the term 'Masters' Lodge' throughout the eighteenth century. He has apparently contented himself with giving us extracts from the Minute Books of Old Dundee Lodge and Old King's Arms Lodge, where such Minutes mention the 3rd, or Master Mason's, degree, and then making his deductions therefrom. As, however, it is quite certain that without giving careful attention to all existing Minutes having reference to Masters' Lodges, dogmatic assertions, affirming the general existence of a certain state of affairs, are not only dangerous but unjustifiable. What reliance, therefore, are we to place upon those very definite conclusions drawn by Bro. Heiron from his incomplete facts?

Bro. Heiron's remarks as to the development of the Trigradal System do not seem to follow the general trend of opinion, and I wonder whether Bro. Vibert would recognize in them a summary of his own theories upon the subject, more especially as, in his Prestonian Lectures, he has given the two early degrees as (1) E.A. and F.C., (2) M.M., and then suggests that the first was subsequently split up into E.A. and F.C.

The reference by Bro. Heiron to the "approaching advent of the 3°" is difficult of comprehension. One might almost imagine that Bro. Heiron had in his mind a front page advertisement in a daily paper, or that Dr. Desaguliers and others were running about proclaiming that they were inventing a wonderful degree beyond those then known to the Craft. Perhaps Bro. Heiron will tell us how he has ascertained that the few Brethren who composed the Grand Lodge in its early days, and who as we have every reason to believe were not, at the date of the *Constitutions* of 1723, looking beyond "London and Westminster," "desired and looked for a great future for the Craft," and realizing "that such a limited Ritual as the first two Degrees would never appeal to a world-wide audience" conceived "the brilliant idea of elaborating the Ritual," and therefore devised the religious degree of "Raising a Master." Surely here Bro. Heiron has let his fancy run riot and can hardly be acquainted with the many so-called exposures of the eighteenth century. If we get any reflection whatever from this source of evidence of the picture of ritual observances of the period, does it not show that the Master's Part—not known as Raising a Master until 1738 or so—had very little of a religious character about it, and that it inculcated fidelity rather than any teaching as to the life in the world beyond, or immortality of the soul? It seems incredible that this religious (?) degree had, between 1725 and 1730, a great deal to do with "the increased interest that at this period was now evidently being taken in the Craft, and its future development," when as early as 1730 it was stated "there is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the Expense to pass the Master's Part, except it be

for interest." And, finally, what can we say of the critical acumen of one who quotes an American Actor's impression of the 3°, as worked in the United States of America in recent years, as evidence of the character of the degree of the Master's Part, as worked by such of our early eighteenth century Brethren who could perform it on the sanded floor of the best room of a Tavern?

I must pass over such minor inaccuracies in Bro. Heiron's paper as the statement that Bro. Lane tells us that there were four Masters' Lodges which never paid for a Charter, &c., when the fact is that Bro. Lane particularly states that one of the four was a Scotts Masons' Lodge and *not* a Masters' Lodge. From the Minutes of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, Bath, it seems clear that the degree of Scotts Master could not have been the same as Master Mason, for it was only given to those Brethren of the Lodge who had already received that degree.

Now the main contention which seems to run through Bro. Heiron's paper is, that many if not all of these Masters' Lodges, the records of most of which he has not dealt with, worked the degree of the Holy Royal Arch, either with or without that of the Master Mason. At the commencement of the paper he states that this is his view; in the body of the paper he states that because the Lodge of Antiquity and Old Dundee Lodge ceased to hold Masters' Lodges in 1769 (about which I suggest there is doubt) there was fairly clear evidence that most likely the Royal Arch Degree was worked in these Lodges; and at the conclusion of his paper, becoming quite enamoured with his own convictions, states categorically "various Modern Lodges (of whom No. 9 at Wapping certainly was one), to please their Members, worked the ceremony in their so-called Masters' Lodges but gave up the practice in 1769." I cannot, however, see that Bro. Heiron has brought any substantial volume of evidence to support this definite pronouncement, and unless such assertions can be fully supported from contemporary records they ought not to be made. It is in consequence of such sweeping statements that I propose to quote with some detail from the records of the Lodge of Antiquity, and I hope to show that such records cannot be regarded as supplying evidence in support of Bro. Heiron's contentions.

As early as the 5th April, 1737, two Brethren, one the Master of the Tavern, paid 5s. each "for Passing Master." The ceremony was performed on the regular meeting day, no mention being made of a Masters' Lodge. After that date other Masons were raised Masters when required, one belonging to another Lodge. On the 12th December, 1758, the Minutes record the reading and confirmation of the Minutes "of the last Lodge Night," and then proceed as follows:—

"The Masters Lodge being opened Bro. W^m. Provoast raised Master paid the usuall fine of 5s. for his being raised."

On the 24th July, 1759, it was agreed that the Lodge should be held every second and fourth Wednesday, and in the By-Laws of 1760 Article II. provides:—

"The Lodge-Nights shall be held on the Second and Fourth Wednesday in every Month, the last being a Master's Lodge."

Bro. Rylands in his History of the Lodge states:—

"In the engraved List of 1760 the West India and American Lodge is entered as holding a 'Masters' Lodge' on the fourth Wednesday in every month; there is, however, no regular record of anything of the kind in the minutes, although it is specified in the Bye-Laws of 1760. I have pointed out that the Lodge was always able to 'raise Masters,' and often performed the ceremony on the ordinary Lodge nights."

A little later Bro. Rylands states:—

"The notice about the 'Masters' Lodge' remained in the engraved Lists until 1769, and in 1770 it had been removed. It does not appear to have been a separate organization, as was the case in the Lodge held at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane, and it is quite clear that, when required, a man was raised a Master Mason as often on the second Wednesday as on the fourth."

Throughout the period 1760-1769 we find makings and Lectures in the 1st or 2nd degrees, as well as raisings, carried out on the fourth Wednesdays; and, conversely, on the second Wednesdays, raisings, in addition to the other work of the Lodge. The Meetings on the fourth Wednesdays were not those of an independent Masters' Lodge. In June and December they were the half-yearly election nights of the Lodge. On the 23rd November, 1768, the Lodge met for the first time at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, and the Minutes for that evening record, that the Master had written to the Deputy Grand Master for his approbation of such removal. At the same meeting the regular Lodge nights were altered to the first and third Wednesdays, and the name of the Lodge changed to The Lodge of Antiquity. However, in the Engraved List of 1769 only the change of Meeting place is recorded, thus:—

"1. The West India and American Lodge at ye Mitre Fleet Street,
2 Wed the 4th a Masters Lodge. Constituted Time Immemorial."

It is not until the Engraved List of 1770 that the alteration of the name of the Lodge and the days of meetings are recorded. That Engraved List reads as follows:—

"1. Lodge of Antiquity at the Mitre in Fleet Street, formerly Goose & Gridiron in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1st & 3rd Wednesdays.
Constituted Time Immemorial."

This Engraved List was made up from a fresh series of engraved plates by William Cole, and is designated by him as a New List. The reason of it was that the Lodges had been renumbered. I suggest that as no distinction had been made by the Lodge of Antiquity between its two monthly meetings for probably many years prior to 1770—both being used indiscriminately for all Masonic purposes—that when transmitting the altered dates to Grand Lodge, at the close of 1768, no reference was made to a Masters' Lodge. If so we have a reason for a similar omission when the fresh List was prepared for the new engraved plates. From the many alterations in the names of Lodges, the different contractions used for days, etc., I do not think the engraver of the List of 1770 copied from an amended Engraved List of 1769, but from a new MS. List supplied to him by Grand Lodge, containing all the corrections to date. For instance, "Popes Head, Plymouth," becomes "Popes Head, South side Street, Plymouth"; "Golden Lion Nr the Bridge" becomes "Golden Lion near the Bridge"; "Mon" becomes "Mond"; "May 22d" becomes "May 22"; etc., etc. If the engraver had been copying from an amended Engraved List of 1769 I doubt if alterations of this kind would have occurred. Notwithstanding the omission in the Engraved List of 1770, which, according to Bro. Heiron, indicated a change in Lodge procedure, the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity show nothing new taking place, nor is there any indication that, either before or after 1770, ceremonies other than those recognized by the Authorities were being carried out on the fourth Wednesday, the third Wednesday, or any other Wednesday. On Wednesday, 15th January, 1772, the Minutes state, that "A Masters Lodge was opened &c.," and on Wednesday, 16th June, 1773, we have it that "The Lodge was opened in the 3^d Degree." At the latter meeting, after the business had been transacted, we are told "and ye Secrets in the 3^d degree being found the Lodge was closed." On Wednesday, 15th November, 1775, the Minutes state, "Lodge opened in the Third Degree," and, after four Candidates had been "exalted to the Third Degree in due form," we are told "The Masters Lodge was then

closed, and the Lodge opened in the First Degree." The curious expressions found in these Minutes do not, in my opinion, point to the Ceremony of the Royal Arch, but, in the first place, refer to the substituted secrets of the third degree, as indicated in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730); and, in the second instance, the word "exalted" is merely another term for the word "raised," just as the word "raised" was often used instead of the word "passed," when referring to the second degree. Upon a careful survey of these records of the Lodge of Antiquity I again suggest that Bro. Heiron is wrong in the assumption he has made as to that Lodge.

I should have liked to have dealt with the records of Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18, with the same fullness as those of the Lodge of Antiquity, but that is impossible, because the records of the former Lodge are not available in such a complete form.

In saying that "the 1° and 2° were invariably given to the Candidate on the same evening" Bro. Heiron is apparently dogmatizing upon what he has found recorded in the Minutes of Old Dundee Lodge and one or two other Lodges. There were, however, many Lodges which gave these two degrees separately, both in London and the Provinces, and therefore Bro. Heiron's statement cannot have any universal application. He further tells us, with regard to this statement, that "this good old custom was regularly—I might almost say religiously—observed by the Dundee Lodge No. 9 at Wapping" up to 1809, and quotes from the Lodge Minutes. He does not, however, quote the Minutes of the Lodge for the 18th March, 1765, which state:—

"Masters' Lodge. This Night agreeable to a proposal of last Lodge Night, Br. Gould was made a Fellow Craft and Raised a Master, for which Honour he paid 10s."

Bro. Heiron also tells us that the Lodge of Antiquity "gave the 1° and 2° jointly to the candidate on the same night until in 1777 they fell from grace." Now if these two degrees were considered inseparable by the Lodge, why was it that on the 8th August, 1759, we read in the Minutes:—

"Bro. Thomas Mariot Perkins made a present to this Lodge of two Genteel bound folio Books, one of them containing the printed bye Laws of this Lodge and a List of Members, with a proper place to enter the names of all those Gentlemen who may be made Masons or Raised to the Second or third Degree in this Lodge."

Also, Article IV. of the 1760 By-Laws of the Lodge of Antiquity, dealing with degrees, provided:—

"Each Brother who was made in any other Lodge, paying Five Shillings for being passed to the Second Degree in this."

Now if "making Masons" meant that the 1° and 2° had been conferred upon Candidates, why was the above Book ruled for the three Degrees, and Article IV. of the By-Laws necessary? Why, too, was the term "made" used in both cases, in contradistinction to "raised to the Second or third Degree" and "passed to the Second Degree" respectively? In my opinion, it was because the Lodge recognized that the degrees of E.A. and F.C. had been separated in many Lodges, even if given together in the Lodge of Antiquity.

Again, to quote from the records of another Lodge to which Bro. Heiron has referred. In the Old King's Arms Lodge, if the 1° and 2° were given as one, and inseparable, why was it necessary for the following resolution to be passed on the 15th April, 1755:—

"That no Member should come in with the Fellow Craft sign when there is enterapprentices in the Lodge Room."

There is also in the Minute Books of the Old King's Arms Lodge, under date 1st March, 1748, a Certificate which states, as to a Brother, that he:

“was made a Mason of this Lodge and duly admitted to the first Degree of Masonry on the 11th day of December, 1747, and was afterwards in due time admitted to the 2nd Degree and at the Stewards Lodge held on the 20th day of January last was raised to the third Degree.”

Surely these two entries do not suggest that it took the first and second Degrees to make a Mason, and that these two degrees were considered inseparable.

Bro. Lane, in his paper on Masters' Lodges, stated:—

“I think it highly probable that, meeting at the same place during the period 1733 to 1735, No. 117 was composed of members of, or worked in connection with, No. 43. Here, again, the old Minutes, if extant, would be very helpful in arriving at an absolutely accurate and satisfactory conclusion.”

Now Bro. Heiron has had the opportunity of inspecting these Minutes to which Bro. Lane refers, and I therefore searched his paper in the hope of seeing some reference to this point. But I cannot find that Bro. Heiron has made any attempt to deal with this interesting point—a point inseparably woven up with the subject of Masters' Lodges—although he claims to take the matter up where Bro. Lane left off. True, Bro. Heiron tells us that Bro. Lane omitted to include in his List of Masters' Lodges “The Kings Arms Lodge, No. 43, in the Strand,” but this was after all only natural since the Minutes of that Lodge, which disclose the fact, had not then been made available to Masonic Students; and he also states that he believes that Nos. 115, 116, 117 and 120 “were composed of certain expert Masons who sometimes formed a Masters' Lodge on their own account—quite independent of any Craft Lodge.” May we take it that before making this last and definite statement Bro. Heiron had carefully analysed the Minutes of the Old King's Arms Lodge from 1733 to 1735, and could find nothing to justify, or amplify, Bro. Lane's statement? If so, then I ask him to consider once more the Minutes of certain meetings to which I shall shortly refer; but if, however, Bro. Heiron has not weighed up the evidence which these Minutes give, then his statement cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged.

All the Minutes of the Old King's Arms Lodge for the period 1733 to 1736 inclusive are of the utmost importance in the above connection, and I should have liked to have had them verbatim instead of pieces here and there.

From the Engraved Lists, as well as from the Minutes, we know that the first Monday in the month was the regular Meeting day for both the Old King's Arms Lodge and the Masters' Lodge No. 117. The earliest Minute of the Old King's Arms Lodge, relating to Masters' Lodges, which Bro. Heiron has reproduced is that of the 1st October, 1733. At that meeting there was a resolution, that from time to time a Summons “should be sent to the Abodes of each of the Members both of the Fellow Craft and Masters Lodge before the assembling of the same,” as apparently for the lack of them “Lodges were often thin thro' forgetfulness.” The Minutes for the same meeting contain a request by three Brethren for admission to the Masters degree in “the Mas^{rs}. Lodge that was just opening,” a request which we learn was duly granted. This Meeting was on the first Monday, the Minutes refer to business transacted in the regular Lodge as well as in the Masters' Lodge, the items apparently running straight on in the Minute Book. Now it is hardly conceivable that the reference to the Masters' Lodge did not indicate the Masters' Lodge, No. 117, but another Masters' Lodge held under the aegis of Old King's Arms Lodge, also held on the same day and under the same roof.

It would seem that the regular Lodge opened at its stated time and when its business was completed was duly closed, whereupon the Masters' Lodge was opened to enable Brethren to be passed Masters. The Minutes in places are somewhat confusing and even conflicting. Thus, on the one hand, we have such Minutes as those of the meeting on the 7th January, 1734, when “Sir W^m. Keith, a member of the Masters Lodge,” desired to be admitted “a Member

of this Society," and of the meeting on the 7th October, 1734, when "An Invitation from the Mast^{rs}. Lodge to the Mast^{rs}. of this Constituted Lodge to become Members, at least Visitors thereof, was proposed and affectionately recommended from the Chair"; yet, on the other hand, we have such Minutes as those of the meeting on the 1st October, 1733, as to the summonses, which I have already mentioned, and of the meeting on the 2nd June, 1735, when "The Minutes of the last Conference and the Minutes of the Masters' Lodge ordered therein," were read, and there is the statement that "the Masters Money had for time out of mind been Applied to the Uses of the Fellow Crafts, or in the Constituted Lodge." Then too, at the same meeting, although the application of the Masters' money was "by mistake," the motion was that "the Money found to be paid wrongfully should be returned to the Corps of Masters found in this Lodge." It would take too long to dissect the Minutes of each meeting of the Old King's Arms Lodge held on a first Monday in the month during the vital years, but taken as a whole, and notwithstanding their discrepancies, these Minutes do in my opinion show that, although there may have been members of the Masters Lodge who were not members of the regular Lodge, yet there was a very intimate connection between the two, and that there is a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that the Masters' Lodge referred to in the Minute Book was the Masters' Lodge No. 117.

Yet another circumstance connecting the Masters' Lodge referred to in the Minutes of Old King's Arms Lodge with the Masters' Lodge No. 117 may be given. In the 1735 Engraved List No. 117 is a blank, and Bro. Lane considers that this Lodge must have died out prior to that date. None of the extracts given by Bro. Heiron from the Minutes of Old King's Arms Lodge of passing Masters in 1735 occur on the first Monday in the Month, and it is quite likely that by the latter part of 1734 the idea that it was necessary to have an independent Masters' Lodge, with a separate space in the Engraved Lists, had ceased to have any weight with the Brethren. It may also have been that the close association between the two Lodges already dealt with conduced to that end. The Minutes show that work in all the degrees was being carried out on the first Monday; the Masters' money was being paid into the Funds of the Constituted Lodge; and of course no returns would be sent, or charity money paid, to Grand Lodge in respect of No. 117. Then, too, in 1735 the Committee of Charity was passing resolutions dealing with the erasure of Lodges within the Bills of Mortality who did not pay in their Charity, or meet regularly. It seems quite feasible that the Secretary of Grand Lodge should erase No. 117 when preparing the 1735 Engraved List. It may be noted in passing that the Lodges Nos. 115, 116 and 120 were also erased shortly after No. 117. Now on the 24th June, 1735, in Grand Lodge Minutes, we read:—

"An Address from the Body of the Gentlemen who had served the Society in the Quality of Stewards directed to the Grand Lodge was then read praying certain Priviledges in consideration of such their Services &c."

Amongst the privileges sought was:—

"That they might meet monthly or otherwise as a Lodge of Master Masons (under the Denomination of the Stewards Lodge) and be enrolled among the Number of the Lodges as usual with the times of their Meeting."

These privileges were duly granted to the Stewards that evening, and one would have expected that the new Lodge would have been subsequently constituted and enrolled in its proper place in the Engraved List "as usual," that being the wording of the request. But what do we find? Instead of being No. 133 on the 1736 Engraved List it had taken an earlier number—No. 117—which was formerly that of the Masters' Lodge at the King's Arms, and is noted as having been constituted the day following the Meeting of Grand Lodge, *i.e.*, 25th June, 1735. From the extracts of the Minutes of Old King's Arms Lodge obviously something

unusual was happening in May and June of that year. The question of the allocation of the Masters' money was being discussed, and on the 16th June we learn that the fees for passing Master were to be "at ye disposal of the Ma^{rs}. called together on that Occasion which by a new Amendment was ordered never to be done on an ordinary Lodge Night." These Minutes point to a re-arrangement taking place during the first half of 1735, which I suggest had reference to the Stewards' Lodge.

On the 27th March, 1734, Lord Weymouth, who became Grand Master on the 17th April, 1735, was made and passed in Old King's Arms Lodge, and subsequently raised in the Masters' Lodge. Sir Thomas Lawley, Bart., the first Master of the Stewards' Lodge, had been a Member of Old King's Arms Lodge from 1731 and no doubt earlier, and he was a Steward at the Grand Feast of 1735. Martin Clare, M.A., F.R.S., and William Graeme, M.D., F.R.S., two other members of Old King's Arms Lodge, were also Stewards at the same Grand Feast, while Sir Cecil Wray, another Member of the Lodge, had only relinquished the office of Deputy Grand Master on the 17th April, 1735. May it not be assumed that these Brethren had something to do with the Stewards' Lodge assuming the number formerly belonging to the Masters' Lodge at the King's Arms?

Then, again, from the Grand Lodge Minutes it seems evident that the Stewards' Lodge did not pay for any Constitution. We find that the Lodge gave £3-3-0 to Charity at the Quarterly Communication immediately following the grant of its privileges, viz., 11th December, 1735. It has been suggested that £2-2-0 of this sum might have been the fee on Constitution, but as at no less than five meetings during the years 1736-1738 similar sums of £3-3-0 were contributed by the Lodge to the Fund of Charity it seems tolerably certain that the sum shown in the accounts of 11th December, 1735, was the sum agreed by the Lodge to be given to Charity, and did not include anything else. But, if my theory is correct, no fee for a Constitution ever became payable, because no formal Constitution ever took place; but immediately after the permission was given by Grand Lodge the Masters' Lodge No. 117 became the Stewards' Lodge No. 117 (a Masters' Lodge), the meeting place was transferred, and the Secretary of Grand Lodge notified, in order that the next Engraved List might contain the correct particulars. We know that the members of the Stewards' Lodge shortly after duly organized their Lodge, fixing days of meeting, &c., because on Monday, 17th November, 1735, the Minutes of Old King's Arms Lodge record:—

"The Master read an Invitation from the Stewards' Lodge intimating that this Lodge was fixed at the Shakespeare's Head in Covent Garden & that their Publick Nights were fixed for the 3rd Wednesdays in October, January, April and July where the Visit of the Master Masons belonging to this Society would be always acceptable."

This invitation is yet a further piece of evidence in support of my contention, but there is still one more fact to which I must allude. On the same 17th November, 1735, the Old King's Arms Minutes record a motion for the purchase of "a Jewel for the use of the Mas^r. at the passing of Masters," from which we may perhaps gather that previously to that date there was regalia for the passing of Masters in the Masters' Lodge at the King's Arms, and that this regalia was then no longer available. This would be so if it had been taken away by the Stewards' Lodge. Does it not also indicate that there could only have been one Masters' Lodge at the King's Arms, that that one was the Masters' Lodge No. 117, and that this Masters' Lodge was moved bodily in June, 1735, and became the Stewards' Lodge?

I think Bro. Heiron sees too much in some of the Minutes from which he quotes. For instance, the reference to "purple Col^d. Ribands," in a Minute of Old Dundee Lodge dated 24th September, 1767, suggests to his mind the ceremony of the Holy Royal Arch, because apparently the clothing to-day of that Order incorporates that colour. If, however, Bro. Heiron will refer to the Charter of Compact of Grand Chapter, signed 23rd July, 1767—only three months

before the date of the Minute—he will find that “every Companion shall wear according to ancient custom an apron indented with crimson, “and Crimson, not purple, appears to have been the R.A. colour for many years.

Some of Bro. Heiron’s notes explaining the Minutes which he prints as an Appendix call for comment. Thus the “T” in “a Drawing Board & T” might well refer to a T square and not to a Tressell. Then the term “Door-keeper” was the term used in the *Constitutions* of 1723 and some of the early Lodge records to indicate the Tyler. The Minute of 1734 certainly indicates the Tyler and not the equivalent of Inner Guard, as in the By-Laws of Lodges it will be found that it was one of the duties of a Tyler to collect the Visitor’s money. Bro. Heiron states that in Old King’s Arms Lodge no lecture in the third degree was given prior to 1753. What is the evidence to support the statement? Is there any evidence which negatives the assumption that the lecture on the Master’s Part was given in the Masters’ Lodge, or on Masters’ Nights, ever since their institution?

I fear my observations have far exceeded the normal length for such remarks. The subject, however, is a wide one and contains so many points which Bro. Heiron’s paper does not fully elucidate, besides those where his deductions, in my opinion, require revision.

Bro. ARTHUR HEIRON writes as follows, in reply:—

The evidence on which this essay was written does not depend on opinions expressed by Masonic experts however experienced and reliable they may be, but rather on statements contained in extracts obtained from the actual Minute Books and records of some of the oldest and most respected Lodges that held allegiance under the Grand Lodge of the Moderns (1717).

First I desire to thank the critics for their kind and courteous remarks on the paper. The criticisms that have been received from those experts who have written their comments on the matter are chiefly directed to the fact that the evidence is not quite satisfactory or that there is not enough of it, hence the essayist desires to add the following supplemental information. His chief object in writing this paper was to endeavour to prove two chief facts as regards the early working of the Masonic Ritual in London amongst the leading Modern Lodges during the period, say, between 1720 and 1745, viz.:—

1. That the chief and attractive way of “Making a Mason” consisted of administering to the Candidate the 1° and 2° on the same evening. He then undoubtedly became a Fellow-Craft Freemason, with which position many of our ancient Brethren were perfectly satisfied, for they refused—or at any rate declined—to accept (and pay for) the higher degree of a Master Mason.

2. When this atmosphere or condition of affairs gradually passed away and more Fellow-Crafts became willing to or desirous of receiving the so-called 3°, it was found that there were very few expert Masons who either knew or had any real knowledge of the working of this 3°; hence arose the necessity of bringing into existence certain so-called Masters’ Lodges which either worked independently of the Craft Lodges, or in some cases were mere adjuncts of or closely connected to same.

On p. 295 of Vol. 1 of his *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, when referring to the Minute passed by that Lodge on 3rd Dec., 1777, that the Candidate (for the future) was only to receive “the first Degree of Masonry on the first night of his reception,” Bro. Rylands says that “It is very interesting to find here, for the first time, a resolution to separate what was originally considered to constitute ‘Making a Mason’ into two parts by the formal act of the Lodge [of Antiquity].” Bro. Rylands further states: “It is worthy of remark that the Lodge of Antiquity preserved the old custom up to the passing of the above Minute in the year 1777. If it had not been the usual

custom, the proposed formal change and (also) the notice to other Lodges would have been unnecessary."

Bro. Daynes, whilst making some useful though rather searching remarks, suggests that I have not studied Bro. Hughan's *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry* (1909 Edition); in reply I will give an extract from that learned book for the especial benefit of Bro. Daynes. On page 58 of that book Bro. Hughan states: "There was a disinclination to proceed to the Third Degree manifested by many brethren during the early part of the 18th Century, and there seems to have been some little truth, at least, in the assertion made in 1730, 'There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the expense to pass the Master's part [except it be for Interest].' As late as 1752, when the first Prov. Gd. Master of Cornwall was installed, the Bro. who presided was *only a Fellow Craft*. In Scotland matters were even worse, for in the historical account of St. Machar's Lodge, No. 54, Aberdeen, Dr. Beveridge states, That the First Degree was always given alone and the Second and Third *together*, a large number however, contented themselves with the First Degree, without proceeding to the others. Thus of 260, who up to and including the year 1775 took the First Degree by itself, only 137 took the other degrees."

I am grieved that Bro. Vibert considers that in some respects I discussed certain matters that were outside the strict purview of the subject of 'Masters' Lodges,' but as this matter is so intimately connected with the 3°, a discussion of the Fellow Craft Degree had to follow almost as a matter of course—my own experience is that no writer in *A.Q.U.* keeps strictly to his subject, but is inclined to wander into outside themes—but having said that, I am delighted to think that Bro. Vibert now fully endorses my chief views as to the importance of the Fellow Craft Degree in olden times, for in his *Evolution of the Second Degree*, on p. 13 he says: "What happened was that almost all through the century, the Degree [viz., the 2°] although technically a further degree was given to the Candidate on the same night as he took his first. Lodge after Lodge shows us that this was the regular practice and very often the individual went no further, *he remained a Fellow-Craft all his days*. Not till 1777 was it decided (by the Lodge of Antiquity) that the First and Second Degrees must be given on different evenings."

Bro. Daynes in his book on *The Birth and Growth of Grand Lodge*, quoting from Dr. Anderson (of 1723), says that "one experienc'd and discreet *Fellow-Craft* from each Lodge was appointed to assist the Stewards at the Grand Feast by collecting the Dinner Tickets &c." As a further compliment to the high position that a Fellow-Craft then enjoyed, Bro. Daynes in *Misc. Latomorum* (Feb., 1928, p. 87) also reminds us that in "Article 13 of the Gen. Regulations, 1723, it is stated that "Another Brother (*who must be a Fellow-Craft*) should be appointed to look after the Door of the Grand Lodge." Surely the duties of a Tyler to Gd. L. in 1723 must have been highly onerous and responsible—for doubtless many renegade and illicit Masons would try and seek admission—so one naturally wonders why the authorities did not appoint a *Raised Master-Mason* to act as Tyler, but perhaps they could not find one!

In the *Constitutions* of "Free and Accepted" Masons collected for the Use of the Lodges by James Anderson, D.D., which were "Carefully Revised, Continued and Enlarged, with many additions, by (Bro.) John Entick, M.A.," and were published in 1756, we read on p. 271 that "no Master should take an Apprentice unless he be a perfect Youth, having no Maim or Defect in his body, that may render him incapable . . . of being made a Brother, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time, even after he has served such a Term of Years, as the Custom of the Country directs; (in England generally 7 years) . . . that so, when otherwise qualified, he may arrive at the Honour of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge, . . . the Grand Warden and at length the Grand Master of all the Lodges according to his Merit. No Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the Part of a *Fellow-Craft*, nor a Master until he has acted as a Warden, nor Grand Warden until he has been Master of a Lodge, nor Grand Master unless he has been a *Fellow-Craft* before his

Election," &c. It is thus clear that the original custom in operative Lodges was for the Candidate to be first Made an Apprentice, and then in due time (generally seven years) a Fellow Craft. When, however, the Speculatives obtained control of most of the Lodges they declined to wait seven years for the 2°, and it was finally arranged that they should receive the two degrees of Ent. App. and F. Craft on the same evening,—there was no reason why men of means, leisure and culture should have to wait a lengthy period as the working Operative Mason had to do in olden times.

All the Minutes in the King's Arms Lodge Minute Book containing any reference to their Masters' Lodge have been printed in this paper. I find no reference in same to Lodge No. 117 referred to by Bro. Daynes in his remarks, the query having originated with Bro. Lane in 1888.

From *Masonry in London and Middlesex*, by Bro. W. H. Reed, P.P.G.Tr., Middx., printed in 1906, we learn that the St. James' Lodge, No. 108, was in existence in 1740 (working without a Warrant), became finally Const. in 1754, meeting then in London. The original Minutes tell us that on 23 Oct., 1783, a Mr. Charles Danby—a Stonemason—was *Made a Mason* in the *first and second Degrees*," &c. The Author further states that "It was not considered absolutely necessary to be Raised to the Third Degree at all, for we read that a great number of the Brethren were never advanced beyond the second or Fellow Craft Degree." I was glad to read on the authority of Bro. Songhurst that there was a Masters' Lodge held at Boston in America in 1738 and that the 'First Lodge' there did *not* confer the Master Mason degree prior to 1794.

Bro. J. H. Tatsch, the Curator and Assistant Editor of the Iowa Masonic Library, U.S.A. (a very expert Mason) confirms this story as to the working of the old American Lodges by stating that the "Hiram Lodge" No. 1, New Haven (const. in 1750) had a Masters' Lodge attached to it and that "Prior to 1790, the greater part of Hiram's members did *not* attain to the degree of Master Mason." Now it is common knowledge that Freemasonry in the American Colonies owed its origin to Masonic influence from England—in which expression I (of course) include Scotland and Ireland—and, therefore, this evidence is useful as confirming what has previously been said as to the practice of very many members of Modern Lodges in England remaining content with the degree of a Fellow Craft. As regards the accuracy of the working in the Dundee Lodge at Wapping (No. 9 in 1755), leading Grand Officers attended its meetings from 1748 to 1795, and thus by their presence ratified and sanctioned this Lodge's old working as being in harmony with the best Masonic traditions of the day; whilst the fact that no less than five Brethren, who had filled the Chair as Grand Master, and seven that of Dep. Gd. Master, were members of the Old King's Arms Lodge and attended its meetings—acting sometimes as Master, sometimes as Warden—is evidence of the accuracy of their Masonic Ritual and as being in accordance with the views of the oldest Masons of that period.

It may be said that this paper is nothing but a glorification of the Fellow Craft Degree at the expense of the 3°; well, in reply I can only say that that was the position which our Masonic ancestors in the eighteenth century considered was quite correct for them to adopt. Bro. Vibert himself says that many of the Brethren seemed content to remain Fellow-Crafts all their days.

Now if the 3° had been in existence prior to the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, at least the degree could not have been regularly worked in the Craft Lodges at that period, for if so surely there would never have been such a revulsion of feeling against same later on. This hostility to receiving the 3° had to be conquered, and then when the Fellow Crafts of that day expressed their willingness to accept and pay for same, it became necessary to constitute these *special Masters' Lodges* chiefly for the purpose of working that degree. Throughout this essay by the expression the 3° I refer to a ceremony the essential feature whereof was the *Raising* a Fellow Craft to the higher degree of a Master Mason.

If I have succeeded in making these facts more clear and apparent to the average Mason I shall feel that my labours have not been entirely in vain,

forlorn, he did so under the adopted name Koheleth. This, however, brings us no nearer to an etymology of the name or an explanation of its femininity. The German writer Hengstenberg¹ argued that the title Koheleth was affixed to the book to indicate that it should not be regarded as Solomon's work. But there can be little doubt that, quite apart from the practically explicit statement in the first verse of the book, the wealth and wisdom alluded to in its early chapters were intended to suggest a Solomonic authorship real or assumed—an inference which for many centuries was unhesitatingly accepted. And, even after doubts had arisen, its truth has again and again been advocated by eminent Biblical scholars.

The objections urged against a real Solomonic authorship have now, however, become so valid, vivid, and various as to seem victorious. No fresh fact concerning Solomon's reign is adduced anywhere in the book. Not a single allusion is therein made to the Name of the LORD, or to the erection or ritual of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem; and, what is still more remarkable, no explanation is propounded for the paradox that the philosophy of Koheleth differs so obviously from that of the historical Solomon. Nevertheless, that the author intended Koheleth to be regarded as a pseudonym for Solomon seems incontrovertible. The mere expression "Son of David" might of course have been used concerning any subsequent descendant of David, but here again we all know that no Davidic descendant named Koheleth ever did reign as "king in Jerusalem"; and so, when once the theory of literal nomenclature is abandoned, a fictitious identity with Solomon remains by far the most plausible alternative. As the hypothetical preacher of a dogmatic discourse about the knowledge of good and evil, no preacher more suitable could have been chosen than the king who was so famous for his superlative wisdom, and who had had such ample opportunities for testing by personal experiment all varieties of human desiderata. Need I add that the authority and trustworthiness of the book are not in any way disparaged by thus relinquishing a claim to its Solomonic authorship? The experiences of Koheleth might equally well have been the experiences of Solomon.

Throughout the book the author's doctrine is frankly identical with the Horatian aphorism, *Carpe diem*,² i.e., "Make prudent use of to-day"; which, however satirically expressed, is by no means as closely akin to the sensual Epicureanism of Omar Khayam as Moncure Conway has contended.³ Koheleth, if he really existed, was certainly not a sceptic. He was a Jewish theist, even though his "Elohim" was not Solomon's JHVH, but was a faraway inscrutable and austere Being, who had fore-ordained a monotonous cycle of mundane phenomena unalterable by human effort and human prayer. We need not go so far as Siegfried when he asserts that Koheleth was one who had made shipwreck of his faith.⁴ Notwithstanding a few occasional self-contradictions in the book—contradictions which have led some commentators to suggest that it must be a dialogue expressing the views of two disputants—the gentle cynic's conviction of God's omnipotence and of man's duty continues unshaken; although he (like Job) is to some extent entangled in the then universally prevalent belief that a man's temporal circumstances ought to be a safe criterion as to the Divine disposition towards him. This, however, does not completely remove our difficulties. We may safely accept the view of the many expositors who, on the ground of its ideas, language and style, the Aristotelianisms and the contemporary conditions reflected in it, adjudge the date of the book (as a whole) to be some time between B.C. 328 and B.C. 166, with a bias of probability towards the earlier limit if the author lived in Palestine, and especially if the *Ecclesiasticus* of Ben-Sirach was intended to be an antidote to the opinions expressed in *Ecclesiastes*. But can we assume for the book a substantial unity and homogeneity? I think not. Quite apart

¹ E. W. Hengstenberg, *Eccles.*, trans. by D. W. Simon, 44.

² Horace, *Carm.* i., xi., 8.

³ Siegfried, *Prediger*, 7; in Nowack's series *Handkom. z. O.T.*

⁴ Conway, *Sol. Liter.*, 109. Cf. Jastrow's *Gentle Cynic*, 186.

from sundry ingenious theories propounded by Profs. Bickell (of Vienna)¹ and Siegfried (of Jena),² there is a consensus of cautious criticism that some passages—more or less numerous—are interpolations and redactors' emendations. And, inasmuch as one of these generally supposed interpolations happens to be the very extract (xii., vv. 1-7) with which we are now specifically concerned,³ the unity and authenticity of any other chapters and verses in the book may well be left to the speculations of rival *savants*.

After the foregoing remarks it will be obvious that nothing can be positively asserted as to the identity of the author of the particular section which we are about to examine, and those who wish to regard it as having been written by King Solomon himself are still at liberty so to do; though for my own part I consider that certain exceptional Hebrew words and idioms occurring in it point to a period of Hebrew literature much later than that of Solomon.

I have entitled my essay "The Allegory of Koheleth." But can we be confident that it is an allegory? Many Hebraists—notably our late Bro. Dr. Ginsburg⁴—have vigorously and persuasively contended that the imagery in vv. 2-5 is not a similitude of old age, but is a literal narrative of death approaching at night-fall, or simultaneously with a terrific thunderstorm Oriental in severity. Those scholars say that the various clauses are intended to bear only their *prima facie* sense, that they are simply descriptive of incidents connected with such a thunderstorm. They see no allegory in them at all, and they deny that Koheleth ever anticipated such an interpretation being put upon them. The following extract⁵ will readily explain this view, and is specially interesting as being quoted from an article by an American Mason (Bro. H. L. Haywood) who, like myself, is discussing the subject from a Masonic standpoint:—

"Thunderstorms were so uncommon in Palestine that they always inspired fear, as many a paragraph in the Scriptures will testify. As the storm broke, the strong men guarding the gates of rich men's houses began to tremble; the hum of the little mills where the women were grinding corn at eventide suddenly ceased because the grinders were frightened from their toil; the women imprisoned in the harems, who had been gazing out of the lattice to watch the activities of the streets, drew back into their dark rooms; even the revellers, who had been sitting about their tables through the afternoon, eating dainties and sipping wine, lost their appetites, and many were made so nervous that the sudden twittering of a bird would cause them to start with anxious surprise."

As a scene all this is naturally very picturesque, but as a fact it is very far removed from what Koheleth wrote. Such an interpretation is not an "allegory"; though, curiously enough, Bro. Haywood still calls it one, and adds the comment "as the terror of the storm so is the coming of death." Taken by itself it is merely a rhetorical narration of phenomena. But taken in the light of his comment, even if it were poetry instead of being sober prose, it is entirely unconvincing. Even the demise of an Oriental potentate would scarcely justify such hyperbolism; and to people such as the disciple addressed by Koheleth, Death but seldom occurs either during a thunderstorm or in circumstances suggestive of a thunderstorm—far too seldom for Koheleth to have prefaced his description with the solemn injunction "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, ere comes the evil days." Moreover Death comes to each of us only once, and even when not sudden the agony of dying is seldom protracted over "days." Thus, when critically analysed, the interpretation of what I may call "the thunderstorm theory" proves to be a laborious effort to represent death as a subject for abject terror, instead of

¹ Discussed by Dillon in his *Sceptics of O.T.*, 92.

² Siegfried, in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Wisdom," iv., 927.

³ Jastrow, however, regards the passage as mostly genuine.

⁴ Ginsburg, *Cohleth*, 458.

⁵ Haywood, *Apron, Bowl and Cord*, 15 (pub. by G.L. of Iowa, U.S.A.).

aequo animo; and it is an interpretation which must be rejected as untenable, because it is so absolutely foreign to the general theme of the book, viz., *Carpe diem*, and savours of an attempt *explicare obscurum per obscurius*.

On the other hand, no one can deny that, either by accident or design, the verses do vividly portray various symptoms of physical decrepitude which are inseparable from senility—thereby constituting an allegory. And, except for this metaphorical application, it is difficult to see any adequate reason why the verses should ever have been introduced into Masonic ceremonies; therefore I think we are bound to admit that at all events Freemasons apply an allegorical signification to them, and that the contrast (in v. 1) between “the days of youth” and “the evil days” indicates that the allegory was intentional and that it signifies the advance of old age.

Let us therefore agree to regard it as such, and see what correspondences are implied by the various metaphors. And, without in any way suggesting that the ordinary version can be improved upon in terseness or elegance of rhythm, let me for the sake of comparison offer a more literal translation of the Hebrew text, and side by side therewith place a modern paraphrase of each clause:—

Translation.

- (1) Bear in mind thy Creator in the days of thine independence, while the days of adversity come not, and years approach concerning which thou wilt say “There is not for me pleasure in them!”
- (2) While sunlight does not become darkened, and daylight and moonlight and starlight wane, and the thunderclouds return after the storm.
- (3) In the day when the guardians of the house will tremble and the men of power will be caused to totter, and the maids that grind will be unemployed, because they are made very feeble and few, and the mistresses that gaze through the windows will be darkened;
- (4) And twin doors will remain shut on the street as regards the lowly voice of the grinding-maid, and yet it (the voice) will rise (in pitch) towards the chirp of a sparrow, and all the daughters of song will be abased;
- (5) Then, on account of that which is high they (all) will be dismayed, and in the way (will seem) hobgoblins; even the almond-tree will be unattractive, and the grasshopper an obstacle and the caper-bud insipid.

Paraphrase.

- (1) Be mindful of thy Creator [to-day] in the time of virile liberty, ere senile infirmities overpower thee and years approach when thou wilt lament “They please me not!”
- (2) Ere mental vigour sadly declines from meridian brilliance to dull mediocrity, and then dwindles to a mere reflex of early genius, until at length a glimmering dotage ensues, and unrespited troubles permanently cloud the soul.
- (3) When that time comes, the limbs will tremble and the back become bowed, the teeth will be disabled and few indeed, and the eyes be dimmed;
- (4) Also both ears will be deaf, and the enfeebled voice rise to a childish chirp, and all desire and power to sing will have declined;
- (5) Then loss of nerve will paralyse effort, and daily difficulties will seem insuperable; even the grey hair and beard will be neglected, personal cleanliness be irksome, fragrance and flavour will excite no interest.

Translation.

Because Man is sliding to his cemetery, and the dirge-men smiting their breasts go around in the street.

- (6) While the silvery cord does not become frayed, nor the golden fillet distorted, nor the pitcher be fractured upon the fountain nor the roller become deflected towards the pit;
- (7) And the dust will revert into the earth as it was, and the spirit will return unto the God who gave it.

Paraphrase.

[Therefore] because all Mankind is involuntarily but surely sliding to the tomb, and funerals are everywhere of constant occurrence [be mindful of thy Creator to-day]

- (6) Ere the fatal dissolution is no longer impedible; whether sudden or protracted, whether through untimely accident or gradual disease—in one way or another—death betideth all.
- (7) The body will revert to the earth whence it was taken, and the spirit will return unto the God who gave it.

You will at once see that our chief difficulty is in determining which expressions are figurative and which are to be taken literally. We have no right to expect (as some critics seem to imagine) that *all* must be figurative, or that *all* must be literal. On the contrary, "The strong men will bow themselves" is a clear instance of the former, whilst "Man goeth to his long home" is an equally clear instance of the latter category. Nor is it necessary so narrowly to restrict the definition of an allegory as to insist that because it is an allegory all inferences from single details must be congruent. To say (as Dr. Taylor seems to contend¹) that if "the *guardians* (whom he regards as *door-keepers*) of the house" (in verse 3) signify the arms, and "the doors" (in verse 4) signify the ears, we must consequently suppose that the function of the arms is to open and shut the ears—this obviously is carrying deduction too far. The metaphors are each separate ideas, not rigidly and consecutively combined, least of all when constituting a peroration, and no Oriental reader in ancient times would have expected their sequent consistency to be a *sine qua non*.

In our ordinary English Bible (Auth. Version of 1611) the verses 3-5 (inclusive) are accounted parenthetical: "In the day when the keepers," *etc.*, *usque* "mourners go about the streets"; and in the Revised Version (1885) verses 2 and 7 are also added to this parenthesis, thereby making the entire passage one long antithesis, to "the days of thy youth." But as this seems to suggest an anticlimax, I have preferred to follow those authorities who restrict the parenthesis to vv. 3, 4, and the first half of v. 5. These clauses depict that physical debility which accompanies the mental decline (v. 2); or perhaps we ought rather to say the declension of *the man himself*, the implied occupant of "the house"—which is his corporal tenement. The word *b'khuroth* (in v. 1), though translated "youth," strictly means the years of maximum virility (*i.e.*, *inter aetates* 20 and 40) rather than a period of adolescence. A comparison of the phrase here "days of thy youth" with its previous occurrence (in verse 9 of the preceding chapter) will show that it means that time of life when the man is emancipated from parental restraint—when he is *free to choose* his own path—able to "walk in the ways of his heart and in the sight of his eyes." But we shall (I think) all admit that when the grand climacteric is passed the human tenant and his tenement usually dilapidate together; though we trust that the vital and immortal principle still immanent in the soul will, in another sphere of consciousness, bring about (and even surpass) a complete restoration of those moribund intellectual and emotional faculties to their fullest energy again.

My exposition of the obscuration of light, and of the recurrent nimbose depression which is referred to in v. 2, differs from that given by Prof. Delitzsch,² who supposed the returning clouds "after the rain" to signify relapsing attacks

¹ C. Taylor, *Dirge of Koheleth*, 54.

² Delitzsch, *Comm. Eccles.* (Easton's Trans.), 405.

of illness, which confuse the mentality and dim the self-consciousness. But the rain may quite as probably be a simile of sorrow as of sickness, and I submit that Koheleth had both in view. A series of troubles and adversities will cause a loss of memory as often as a loss of appetite. Successive disappointments or bereavements bring feebler fortitude even as they bring facial furrows.

In the third verse the allegory becomes more definite. Here the human body is portrayed as a house, the temporary home of various faculties and senses. The arms and legs are troped as its guardians from attack, the spinal vertebrae as its men of valour and strength, the teeth as its maid-servants and the eyes its mistresses; the ears as its portals, the tones of voice as its singing-girls. In old age all are more or less impaired and inactive, their glory has departed. Outside the house, too, a corresponding gradual decay is manifest: all the domestic retainers are afraid of impending disasters (although the phantoms which block the paths are mainly chimerical); the trees are left untended and their fruits untasted; the pitcher gets shattered at the spring and the gear becomes worn out at the cistern. Thus vividly is every detail of the dreary scene depicted by this master of verbal imagery.

In their way, too, the contrasts are as striking as the comparisons. In v. 3 the masculine menials and the men of importance have their feminine parallels in the slaves who daily grind the corn and the ladies who leisurely look through the lattices. In v. 4 the cacophonous wail of the lonely drudge contrasts with those harmonious lyrics with which the "daughters" had formerly enlivened the family festivities. In v. 5 the firm boughs of the trees above seem about to topple down, whilst the nimble grasshopper below seems an obstacle too heavy to be moved. In v. 6, whilst the broken pitcher betokens a sudden calamity, the decayed cistern 'cog-wheel' figures a slow infirmity resulting from constant wear and tear.

That in my foregoing parallel columns there are many strange (perhaps even startling) paraphrases I frankly admit; so many indeed that an attempt to justify them all seriatim would extend into a volume, and would call for a greater knowledge of Hebrew than of Masonry on the part of my readers. We must therefore confine attention to those ideas which seem essential to the main argument, leaving subsidiary details and nuances of meaning to commend themselves or to be accepted on faith.

To those who are familiar with Oriental customs the term "maids that grind" will need no explanation. It means the female dependants (frequently slaves) who daily in querns grind corn for the daily bread of the family. But that the maids should be unemployed if only because they are diminished in number is not so clear. The pronoun "they" may possibly refer not to the maids, but to the "men of power" who were spoken of in the previous clause. That in either case the teeth are signified (more especially the molars) seems indisputable, and we can only suppose the intended idea to be that mastication has become enfeebled because the teeth are few and decayed.

The ladies who "gaze through the windows" obviously signify the faculty of sight; the eyes being the windows and amblyopy likened to internal curtains or lattice-work screens which darken the room.

The fourth verse as it stands in the ordinary English version is very ambiguous. In fact, several commentators have despairingly concluded that the text here must be corrupt. The Targum and Kimchi supposed the "closed doors" to signify that the old man is too infirm to go out into the street. Pro. Delitzsch,¹ with more cogency, maintained that since the word *d'lathaim* is dual (i.e., *two doors*) it must refer either to the upper and lower jaws or else to the lips. But Hengstenberg's suggestion² that the two doors being kept closed alludes to the two ears becoming deaf seems to me a far more convincing alternative. Aged people, though frequently deaf, are usually very far from dumb.

¹ Delitzsch, *Comm. Eccles.*, 408; also Barry, *Parables of O.T.*, 140.

² Hengstenberg, *Eccles.*, trans. by Simon, 247. Cf. Rev. xviii., 22.

The chief difficulty urged against this solution is that to introduce the idea of deafness here is incompatible with the usual interpretation of the next clause, viz., "he shall rise up at the voice of the bird." Bp. Hall's rendering,¹ "every little noise (even that of a bird) will wake thee out of thy sleep" (which S. Jerome had explained as a reference to cock-crowing)—must be rejected because it arbitrarily sacrifices the allegorical sequence for a substituted literalism which at the same time plays havoc with the grammar. We feel that Koheleth's selection of phrases is not thus casual, nor would he be likely to have mystified his original (Hebrew) readers by altering capriciously his pronoun from "thou" to "he," as e.g., "the years when *thou* wilt say" to "*he* will rise up." Also (as Ginsburg has pointed out), even if we allow that aged people may be awakened by a slight noise in the early morning they certainly do not *rise up* at the chirp of a bird. Yet, on the other hand, it is difficult to see what Ginsburg himself meant when he rendered the phrase, "the swallow shall rise to shriek"²; and Dr. Taylor's phrase, "the bird of evil omen raises its dirge"³ is almost equally difficult. The Hebrew term *zippor* is generic for any kind of small bird; if by "the bird" Koheleth had in mind any particular species it would most naturally be the common sparrow, whose well-known sociability might thus be implied as a contrast to the old man's loss of conversational versatility.

When, however, we critically examine the grammatical construction there is no getting away from the fact that the words *yakum l'qol hazzippor* literally mean that *something* (some kind of masc. nominative being here implied) "will rise towards the voice of a bird." And since the word *qol* occurs also in the preceding clause, and is a masculine noun in Hebrew (although its English equivalent is neuter), the most natural rendering would seem to be "the voice of the grinding-maid will rise in its pitch towards the voice of a sparrow," or of some other similarly small and common bird. In that case its symbolical application will be to the aphony from a full melodious baritone to a querulous piping treble.

Another ambiguous change of pronoun occurs in verse 5. This time it is "*they* will fear." Who will fear? The reference may be only to the "daughters of song" (in v. 4), but it seems more likely that all the *dramatis personæ* of the allegory may here be included. All—the men of might and ladies of leisure, the drudges who grind and the damsels who sing—are now dizzy or timid: either fearing to fall, or else apprehensive that scorpions, snakes or ogres lurk among the rank weeds which cumber their path.⁴ Even the snowy bloom of the almond-tree and the aromatic buds of the caper-plant⁵ fail to attract them into the garden, where a tiny grasshopper looms as a huge immovable obstacle to their walk.

Thus we get a very vivid picture of all the old man's physical faculties becoming more or less infirm through his loss of nerve and self-confidence, and his consequent tendency to magnify difficulties which are trivial and dangers which more often than not are purely imaginary. Moreover, this decadence of self-possession is usually accompanied by a corresponding apathy of self-pride. The care for his hoary hair and beard is neglected, and daily trifles of neatness (and even cleanliness) in person become a burden to him. As for the fragrance of scents and the flavour of fruits they excite no interest whatever. Like Barzillai (II. Sam. xix., 35) he has ceased to taste what he eats or what he drinks. He has come to the period of

"Second childishness and mere oblivion:

"Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans—everything."

¹ Hall (Bp. of Norwich), *Works* iii., 282 (1837 ed.). Cf. Barton, *Inter. Crit. Comm.*, 189.

² Ginsburg, *Koheleth*, 460. Does a swallow shriek before a storm?

³ Taylor, *Dirge of Koh.*, 20.

⁴ Cf. Prov. xxii., 13.

⁵ An Oriental idea was that the caper-plant (*capparis spinosa*) when eaten would stimulate sexual desire.

As regards the reference to the almond-tree, though the word *shaged* in the Bible is used sometimes for the tree and sometimes for its fruit, the former is probably meant in this instance. But there are two varieties of the almond-tree: *Amygdalus communis* and *Amygdalus amara*; and the reference here seems to be to the latter (called "bitter almond"), which is a smaller tree than its fellow, with lower branches bearing *white* flowers (instead of pink) and producing a bitter kernel which contains prussic acid. I have suggested the participle "unattractive" as its predicate because the force of the Hebrew word *yanaitz* is vague. Its usual rendering "shall flourish" is undoubtedly wrong, for the radical idea of the verb *na'atz* is "to despise" (not "to flourish"), and therefore *yanaitz* must (though the second vowel is admittedly irregular) be the causative form (*i.e.*, *hiphil*), meaning "cause itself to be lightly esteemed," for which our English words "be unattractive" seem the nearest equivalent. The reason why the tree is thus condemned is not stated, but when applied to our allegory its signification seems to be that the old man has ceased to take interest in his white hair and beard, which consequently become thin, unkempt and unclean.

That the tenour of the allegory is parenthetically interrupted in the second hemistich of v. 5, is the view most generally accepted. A literal rendering here certainly yields the simplest explanation, though not necessarily the only one. Whereas such few attempts as I have seen proposing some kind of parabolic signification for the clause seem too forced to deserve notice, if the ordinary literal sense be accepted it carries our thoughts back to the introductory injunction in v. 1, and suggests to us "Be mindful of thy Creator now: because thou sharest the universal lot of Man"; thou too art sliding, slipping slowly but surely and irretrievably to the "house of long duration"¹—meaning thereby not "the underworld" but "the tomb."

Passing on now to the sixth verse we find it presenting variations of metaphor which, without altering the general interpretation of the allegory, offer two alternative theories in regard to it. Postponing for a moment the precise meaning of the four Hebrew terms respectively translated "loose," "break," "silver cord" and "golden bowl," the theories themselves may be stated as follows:—

- (1) That the entire verse is a parable of the ultimate consequence of senile decay—the irreparable collapse of some vital organ—causing the long-foreseen finale. Man being unlike the mythical Tithonus, a day comes at last when syncope, coma or apnoea terminates his slow atrophy.²
- (2) The rival and more recent theory is that Koheleth, having (in the preceding verses) tacitly implied the advance of Death by means of gradual senility, now reminds his youthful reader that quite independently of old age the same grim sequel may at an earlier moment suddenly cut short his opportunity to enjoy life. As in the course of daily routine a pitcher is sometimes shattered, so by an accident or homicide Man's career may be similarly terminated without premonition.

Each of these theories, needless to say, is in part supportable by cogent arguments; yet both are in part assailable by objections equally cogent. But by combining parts of both we may find a *tertium quid*, more nearly approximating to conclusiveness. Koheleth's metaphors may in fact indicate strong antitheses rather than parallel synonyms. That the pitcher shattered at the fountain implies an accident sudden and unexpected is too obvious to be disputed; but that the disasters to the "cord," the "bowl" and the "wheel" imply occurrences

¹ This expression **בֵּית עוֹלָם** (like the *τόπος αἰώνιος* in Tobit iij., 6) was derived from the ancient Egyptian *pa-chetta*, and became later on a Talmudic metonym for a cemetery (*Cf. Tosef. Berach. iij.*).

² *Cf. Martin Clare's Defence of Masonry*, ch. iv.

similarly sudden is a baseless assumption. Another assumption equally baseless is that the "cord" and the "bowl" are involved in one and the same disaster. And still a third is that "the *galgal* at the *bor*" refers to an apparatus for raising water. The expression could just as well denote the mill-stone of an olive-press, or a cart-wheel collapsing into a pit (or an underground cistern), or even a *golal* crashing down its inclined groove to close the entrance of a tomb (S. Mk. xv., 46).

As an illustration of such facile predilections let me quote Dr. Wright's ingenious exegesis:—

"The idea of the golden bowl seems to be borrowed from the fifth of Zechariah's visions. In that vision (Zech. iv.) Zechariah beheld a golden lampstand, similar in most respects to that of the Mosaic tabernacle (Ex. xxxvii., 17-24), but the oil flowed drop by drop from two olive-trees on either side into a golden bowl or reservoir (a *gullah*), from which by means of pipes it was conveyed to each of the seven lamps. The lamp in Koheleth's picture is, however, supposed [*secundum* Dr. Wright] to hang from the ceiling of a room—suspended by a silver cord. Suddenly the cord snaps asunder, the golden lamp falls, the oil is scattered and the light extinguished."

Moreover [*etiam secundum* Dr. Wright] there are two other metaphors by which (he says) the sudden death of man is portrayed, viz., that of a pitcher shivered at a fountain, and that of a wheel suspended over a well to draw water from the depths below. "Death is thus likened to the sudden fracture of the wheel, whereby bucket, rope, wheel and all are precipitated into the well" (Wright, *Eccles.*, 267, 268).

All this may sound very simple and plausible, but it is almost entirely fanciful. A golden chandelier suspended from the ceiling by a silver chain is suggestive of Park Lane rather than Palestine. Moreover, *gullah* does not mean a lamp-bowl, still less does it mean a lamp. In I. Kgs. vii., 41, it signifies a corolla on the chapter above each of the two brazen pillars at the entrance to King Solomon's Temple, which corolla no more resembled a lamp than it did a spherical ball with a map depicted on it—both interpretations being equally incredible. To an Oriental mind Koheleth's *khebel* (*cable* or *cord*) would much more naturally suggest the idea of a *measuring-line* (II. Sam. viii., 2, and Zech. ii., 1) allotting the duration of human life; such a cord by being frayed or untwisted at the end (which is the true meaning of רָתַק in niphal)

would become shorter in length. Similarly the golden *gullah* by being distorted or squeezed out of shape would be rendered ineffective for its purpose—whatever that purpose may have been

In the case of the two concluding metaphors, that of the broken pitcher is self-evident, but that of the "roller cracked unto the pit" may signify many other things besides the fall of a rotten wheel of a *nahurah* into an underground tank. That there was some line of thought connecting the disasters to the pitcher and the roller (similarly or antithetically) is highly probable, though that link is not now perspicuous. For instance, the entire verse may have been a paraphrastic quotation of some proverbial saying well-known then but lost to-day. But, in any case, though we may not be able to decide upon their individual application as clearly as we would wish to do, we shall probably all agree that in a general sense the metaphors indicate that however human collapse may come—whether abruptly or gradually—it inevitably will come. In this world human nature can have but one fate: the "dust" must decompose to the material elements whence it was taken. But to the wise Master-Mason its inherent and immortal germ inspires a holy confidence that the Lord of Life will enable us to trample the King of Terrors beneath our feet by the sure conviction that, instead of passing derelict to annihilation or absorption, the spirit (clad in a new and incorruptible vesture) will return unto the God who gave it for a higher evolution.

St. John's Day in Harvest.

THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1926.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. John Stokes, P.G.D., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, I.P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, S.W.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.D.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. C. Maile, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Capt. F. L. Coldwell-Smith, K. R. Thomson, Sir A. A. Brooke-Pechell, Douglas Knoop, T. G. Lightfoot, G. W. South, V. H. Velge, Arthur Heiron, W. J. Williams, F. G. Tyers, W. Young, G. P. Gambs, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., B. Telepneff, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.Pt., W. Francis, W. C. Birkin Mullett, Major C. W. de Roemer, F. K. Jewson, A. E. Gurney, H. I. Summers, G. Pear, F. P. Reynolds, G. E. J. Swift, Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., Ed. M. Phillips, F. L. Found, Eric Alven, C. S. B. B. Mullett, Major T. W. Dickie, A. Soldatenkov, W. Emmerson, Hy. G. Gold, C. Grellier, B. Ivanoff, F. Houghton, Geo. P. Simpson, Percy H. Horley, W. R. Semken, H. A. Matheson, Wm. B. Gregar, L. Sykes, W. E. A. Candy, Jno. Eyre, P.G.D., F. W. Le Tall, and Prince C. Lobanov-Rostovsky.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Elliott D. Kisch, Royal Crown Lodge No. 3133; W. H. Manchee, P.M., Huguenot Lodge No. 2140; G. H. Phillips, Marcians Lodge No. 2648; Angus MacBeth, Albert Edward Lodge No. 592 (S.C.); A. G. Barnes, J.D., Emblematic Lodge No. 1321; C. F. Clesby, Merton Lodge No. 2790; H. Steel, Kentish Lodge No. 3021; and B. Ewart White, I.P.M., A. W. Lipsham, D.C., and M. Smirnoff, of Grenadiers Lodge No. 66.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; G. W. Daynes; Rev. H. Poole, S.D.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Four Lodges, one Library, and seventy-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

A Vote of Congratulation was accorded to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had received Honours at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Rt. Rev. Bishop T. C. Twitchell, D.D., Grand Chaplain; J. Russell McLaren, Junior Grand Deacon; F. C. C. M. Fighiera, C. Wilkinson, T. A. Bullock, Eric Studd, H. Cooper Pattin, and Sir David Brooks, Past Grand Deacons; Rev. F. E. Crate, Assistant Grand Chaplain; A. R. Upjohn and W. H. Clarke, Past Assistant Grand Registrars; Henry Lovegrove, Past Grand Superintendent of Works; George Elkington and James Tearoe, Past Assistant Grand Superintendents of Works; F. Hubert James, F. J. Asbury, and W. Rhodes, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; C. D. Eaton, E. B. Beesley, Knud Knud-Hansen, F. Lace, John Morgan, A. L. Rider, and R. J. Elliston, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Major Gen. J. D. McLachlan, Grand Sword Bearer; Col. H. F. Cleveland, Past Grand Sword Bearer; Capt. C. C. Adams, Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; H. Ball, Percival M. Watts, and F. G. Carpenter, Past Grand Standard Bearers; and N. P. Lardner, Assistant Grand Standard Bearer.

The SECRETARY called attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. JOHN STOKES.

Large Scotch APRON, Linen, with Craft designs painted in Oil colours and Gold. The original owner is believed to have been named Cameron and to have lived in Perthshire.

By Bro. W. JENKINSON.

Small Silver TROWEL, engraved on blade *Armagh Lodge No. 409*, and the maker's mark I.D. on the back of handle.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

The following paper by Bro. Boris Telepneff was read by Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills:—

A FEW PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF SWEDISH FREEMASONRY IN RUSSIA.

BY BRO. BORIS TELEPNEFF.

(For much of the information contained in this essay the author is indebted to Miss Tyra Sokolovskaia's book, *The Chapter Phoenix*, Petrograd, 1916; also to the following sources:—M. Longinov, *Novikow and Moscow Martinists*, Moscow, 1867; and S. Eshevsky, *Moscow Masons of 1780-1789*, Moscow 1870; for further references the author's paper *Freemasonry in Russia* (*Trans. Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, Vol. XXXV., London, 1922) may be consulted.)



RUSSIAN Masons of the eighteenth century called themselves "mystical philosophers searching for the Light of Wisdom." In their diligent search for 'Light and more Light' they introduced into their Lodges a number of different systems then prevalent in England and more especially on the Continent. Yet, not all of these several systems had equal influence and success, nor were they equally tolerated by the Russian Government. Only two systems were for a time patronised by

Russian sovereigns:—English Freemasonry during part of the reign of the Empress Catherine II.,¹ surnamed the Great; and Swedish Freemasonry in the first portion of the reign of the Emperor Alexander I.,² surnamed the Blessed. Thus, the few notes which follow, besides illustrating some peculiar tendencies of Swedish Freemasonry generally, may be of interest for students of Masonic History in Russia, a history which in a measure reflected like a mirror some of the great Masonic influences on the Continent in the eighteenth century.

A number of Russian Masons, "seekers for the Light of Wisdom," not finding its full rays in the Masonic systems already worked in Russia, decided in the year 1775 to apply to the leaders of Swedish Freemasonry for initiation into the high Masonic mysteries, of which Sweden was reputed to be the custodian. A young courtier of brilliant education and high abilities, Prince Alexander Borisovich Kurakin,³ was chosen by them for this important mission.⁴

Prince Alexander Kurakin had been in his childhood a play-mate of the Grand Duke Paul,⁵ the heir-apparent to the Russian throne; and a warm mutual affection sprang up between them. The Grand Duke Paul used to refer to the constant comrade of his joys and sorrows as his 'soul,' and Prince Kurakin was depicted as having had "a pure, unselfish and unbounded affection" for the future Emperor of all the Russias. He was supposed to be that Brother who had the privilege of introducing the Grand Duke Paul into Masonic mysteries.

Although at first destined for a military career, Prince Kurakin soon chose diplomatic service instead. After an excellent course of education in his

¹ 1729-1796.

² 1777-1825.

³ Born 18th January, 1752; died 25th June, 1818.

⁴ *The Chapter Phoenix*, pp. 2-4.

⁵ Born 1st October, 1754; became Emperor of Russia on 9th November, 1796; and was assassinated on 11/12th March, 1801.

native country, the young Prince completed his studies at the University of Leiden, and proceeded to broaden his intellectual outlook by extensive travelling in Europe. Thus well-equipped for the career of a diplomat, he returned to Russia in 1773, where he immediately received a high appointment at the Imperial Court. In 1778 he became a member of the Imperial Senate¹ and Marshal of the Nobility of the Petersburg district, a brilliant and honourable position.

In 1781 Prince Kurakin accompanied the Grand Duke Paul and the Grand Duchess during their journey abroad. The young courtier left everywhere a lasting memory as "a most accomplished and amiable gentleman." His close friendship with the Grand Duke did not serve him well in the eyes of the old Empress Catherine, who viewed with dislike and suspicion the activities and strivings of her son the Grand Duke Paul, whose austere nature inclined to mystical pursuits clashed with the Empress's sceptical mind and with her indulgence in rather immoral frivolities. Both in Russia and abroad their friends and courtiers formed two antagonistic parties—the Grand Duke's and the reigning Empress's. Prince Kurakin, the bosom friend of the Heir-apparent, was compelled to leave St. Petersburg under the displeasure of the Empress. On the accession to the Russian throne of his friend, the Emperor Paul I., Prince Kurakin was immediately recalled to St. Petersburg and appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Russian Empire. He fearlessly opposed some actions of the Emperor, whose mind, unhinged by his mother's persecutions, gradually became unbalanced. For a time the Prince incurred his Monarch's displeasure, but the Emperor soon repented the rashness of his temper, and died having fully restored his friendship and confidence to Prince Kurakin.

The Emperor Paul's successor, Alexander I., appointed Prince Kurakin Chancellor of Russian Orders. Many diplomatic missions of high importance were entrusted to him, and he was Russian Ambassador in Paris from 1803 till 1812.

According to the testimony of his contemporaries, Prince Kurakin was a man who left his mark on every place and society in which he appeared; it was impossible for anyone to pass without noticing the accomplished courtier. This, however, did not refer only to his inner qualities and abilities, although these were undoubtedly remarkable; for his appearance emphasized the brilliancy of his position by birth and his personal attainments. He was often called 'the Prince of diamonds,' for he loved to adorn himself with a wonderful display of jewelry; diamonds sparkled on his buttons, buckles and rings. A general train of pomp and luxury surrounded him; this he considered a necessity, not simply for the purpose of following the custom of the luxurious courts of his time, but also to bring home to the general public the high importance of his rank in the Russian Empire. He never appeared publicly without being surrounded by a gorgeously attired retinue of servants and dependents.

In spite of his habitual luxury and a seeming extravagance, Prince Kurakin did not ruin himself. He appears to have had quite a sound understanding of the value of money, and by managing his large estates with sagacity he was enabled to secure an enormous revenue. In Prince Kurakin an acute business man was combined with an accomplished courtier and a brilliant diplomat. Yet it was not such munificent abilities that inspired Russian Masons with a desire to entrust the young diplomat with a mission of exceptional importance, and to enrol him as one of their leaders. It was the Prince's personality which made him so popular among Masons. One of the Prince's contemporaries gave him the following character:—"His sparkling sweetness was respected by everybody, and charmed everybody. He also possessed nobility of feeling and was restrained and prudent in his conversation: he was a constant and tender friend."

Prince Kurakin was initiated into Masonic mysteries at the early age of twenty-one by another prominent Russian Mason, his near relation, Count

¹ The highest Court of Appeal in Russia.

Nikita Panin,¹ a well-known figure at the Russian Court. The young prince seems to have shown from the very day of his initiation a great attachment to Freemasonry and a deep interest in its tenets.

Prince Kurakin was given a highly honourable diplomatic mission to the Swedish Court—he was sent by the Russian Government to announce to the King of Sweden the wedding of the Grand Duke Paul. In Sweden he met with the utmost courtesy and profuse hospitality. Introductions from leading Russian Masons opened for him the doors of the most notable Swedish Lodges. Prince Kurakin eloquently explained to his Swedish Brethren the desires and fruitless researches of Russian Masons. Swedish Masons appeared to be ready to assist the young Masonic leader in his task, and Karl, Duke of Sudermanlandia, himself undertook to initiate the Russian envoy into some of the higher mysteries of the Swedish Rites; this was done in December, 1776.

Leaders of Swedish Freemasonry seemed to be highly elated at the possibility of introducing their System into the vast domains of Russia. However, as an absolute condition of any further assistance and enlightenment, they demanded the strict obedience of Russian Lodges to the Supreme Council of the Order in Sweden, viz., to the Grand Chapter of Stockholm. Prince Kurakin, supplied with the necessary documents to act with full power in all extraordinary and urgent matters, decided to sign the required Act of Obedience, and did so unhesitatingly during his sojourn in Sweden without further discussion or communication with his trustees in Russia. Great was the joy of the Swedish Masons. A letter from a certain Adam Levenhaupt, the acting Director of Ceremonies during Prince Kurakin's advancement into the Swedish degrees, illustrates these feelings of joy very aptly. Prince Kurakin is there hailed as the "restorer of Masonic Order in Russia," and a "speedy and glorious restoration of the Order" is expected.²

Having signed the Act of Obedience, Prince Kurakin was granted by his Swedish chiefs "a constitutional warrant for the establishment in St. Petersburg of a ruling Mother-Lodge of the Swedish System under the name of the Chapter Phoenix." A patent was issued entitling another prominent Russian Mason, Prince Gavril Petrovich Gagarin, to assume the office and rank of the Ruling Prefect of that Chapter.³ A number of Masonic jewels and Lodge ornaments were placed in Prince Kurakin's hands, among them the Banner of the Order, the Grand Sword of the Order, the "Crown of Wisdom," a Sceptre, Wands, a Lamp, a Bell, a Key, a Hammer, a Gavel, a complete Knight's Armour, etc. Yet, in spite of the Act of Obedience and the seeming willingness to assist Prince Kurakin in every way, he did not obtain all those acts and rituals which were essential for the opening of the projected Chapter. The intention evidently was to postpone this solemn opening till the visit to Russia of the Swedish King, Gustave III.,⁴ which was projected for the summer of 1777; the King himself was to bring all necessary documents, not entrusted to Prince Kurakin.

King Gustave's visit actually took place, but for some unknown reason it did not coincide with the opening of the Swedish Chapter in St. Petersburg.⁵ This visit of the King-Mason did, however, much to consolidate and to further the cause of Swedish Masonry in the Russian Empire. A great reception and splendid festival in honour of the King-Brother was arranged in the large and influential Petersburg Lodge Apollo. The festival was given in a house owned

¹ Count Nikita Ivanovich Panin, "High Master of the Court" of the Russian Empire. Born 15th September, 1718; died on the 31st March, 1783. See *Correspondence of the Moscow Masons of the 18th Century* edited by Barskov, Petrograd, 1915, p. xv.

² Prince Kurakin's Archives VIII., 300-302.

³ Prince Kurakin left the principal rôle and rank in Swedish Lodges in Russia to Prince Gagarin, having soon discovered the potential difficulties presented by the Swedish claims and desires. The somewhat conspicuous Masonic adventurers, the Brothers Rosenberg, appear to have played a part in propagating Swedish Freemasonry in Russia, but hardly to their own advantage, and still less to that of the latter.

⁴ 1746-1792.

⁵ Pekarsky. *Supplement to the History of Freemasonry in Russia in the 18th Century*, 59-63.

by this rich Lodge and specially built for purposes of Masonic meetings. On this occasion the King was introduced to the leading Russian Brethren.

The actual opening of the Swedish Chapter in St. Petersburg happened in the last month of 1777, according to the calendar of Russian Masons,¹ that is to say, in February, 1778.² On the 10th of April, 1778, a detailed Agreement between the Swedish Masonic chiefs and the Russian Chapter was concluded. Prince Gavril Gagarin duly assumed the high rank of the Prefect of the Chapter, thereby becoming the chief ruler of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia. The following circumstance is remarkable:—According to the Agreement with his Swedish chiefs, Prince Gagarin promised to keep secret from ordinary Brethren the establishment of the Chapter Phoenix; its existence could be divulged only to the most reliable adherents of the Swedish system in Russia—to a few of the most enlightened and carefully selected Brethren. This secret conclave of chosen Brethren was subordinate to its head, Prince Gagarin, who in his turn was responsible for all its actions to the supreme ruling body of Swedish Freemasonry in Stockholm.³

Thus, another Masonic leader with great powers arose in the midst of Russian Brethren. Prince G. P. Gagarin⁴ was a bosom friend of the above-mentioned Prince A. B. Kurakin, who initiated him into higher degrees of Swedish Freemasonry. Already in 1770, when Prince Gagarin was only twenty-five years old, he was noticed by the future "Provincial Grand-Master of all the Russias," Yelaguin,⁵ as a candidate worthy of highest Masonic initiations. Prince Gagarin, like Prince Kurakin, completed his education by a long sojourn abroad. He was described by his contemporaries as a man of great intellect, although of a contradictory nature. A pronounced realist in many of his intellectual pursuits, he was at times engrossed in mysticism; occupied with matters of finance and commerce, he yet found time for deep theological studies; he was to all appearances a zealous Mason, but some of his utterances preserved by his contemporaries seem to be utterly un-Masonic, depicting morality as a mere prejudice. Not content with his activities as a statesman and a Masonic leader, Prince Gagarin was also known as a writer. He was an especial favourite of the Emperor Paul I. From 1781 he was Member of the Moscow Senate, and he became Governing Director of the State Loan and Assistance Bank, and later Minister of Commerce.

After the opening of the Chapter Phoenix great efforts were made by Swedish Masons to strengthen their authority in Russia and to increase the number of their Lodges. These efforts were at first crowned by conspicuous success.⁶ Such was Prince Gagarin's zeal that his Swedish patrons decided to confer on him the rank of Supreme or Grand Master⁷ of all Lodges, following the Swedish System in Russia. Accordingly, on the 7th May, 1779, the following Swedish Patent was issued⁸:—

"Patent to Prince G. P. Gagarin.

To the Glory of the Most High, in Holy Trinity One Great Architect of the Universe!

We, Karl, by the Grace of God Hereditary Prince of Sweden, of Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sudermanlandia,⁹ Heir-Apparent to Norway, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein and Stormar, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, Illuminated Magister and the Most Wise Vicar of

¹ The Russian Masons of that period began their year in March.

² *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 5.

³ *ib.*, p. 5.

⁴ Born on the 9th January, 1745; died on the 19th January, 1803 (?).

⁵ B. Telepnev, *Russian Masons*, 9 (London 1925).

⁶ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 6.

⁷ Obermeister.

⁸ Sokolovskaia, *Supplements to the Chapter Phoenix*, N. 2.

⁹ Karl Duke of Sudermanlandia already referred to. King Gustave III.'s brother and later King of Sweden (under the name of Karl XIII.), born 7th October, 1748; died 5th February, 1818. *Correspondence of Moscow Masons of the 18th Century*, edited by J. A. Barskov, Petrograd, 1915, p. xv.

Solomon for the Northern Province, formed of Swedish and Gothic Kingdoms, of the Grand-Dukedom of Finland and of the Russian Empire, Prefect and Supreme Chief of all Lodges of St. Andrew and St. John, legally constituted and regularly working in these districts,

Do hereby wish to all Most Illuminated and Illuminated, Most Enlightened and Enlightened, Most Worshipful, Worshipful, Diligent and Zealous Brethren, Knight-Freemasons, to all Grand Provincial Masters, Members of the Supreme Council of the Order, Grand Officers, Commanders, Knights of the Temple, Ribbon Knights, Favourites of Solomon and Knight-Stewards, Masters in the Chair of lower Lodges, Deputy Masters, Wardens and other Lodge Officers, Scottish Masters, Brethren Elect, St. John's Masters, Fellow-Craftsmen and Apprentices,—Peace, Unity, Salvation and Blessings in the Sacred Numbers of 3, 7 and 9 in all Mercies bestowed on us by God, One in Trinity, the Most High Builder of the Universe and Preserver of Our Order.

Inasmuch as our Brother the Most Illuminated Mason and Knight of Purple Ribbon, Prince Gavril Gagarin was dutifully and obediently performing Our commands, decreed by Us to the glory, sustenance and blossoming of the Order, and inasmuch as We had always recognised him to be zealous, persevering, honest, faithful and obedient, on the examination of his work, We found the above-mentioned Prince perfectly acquainted with the Royal Art of Freemasons; in consideration of this and in order to signify Our most sincere friendship towards him, We entrust this luminous Prince with the Supreme Government under Our Direction over all Lodges of Russia, acknowledged by Us, and appoint him Grand Master.

Therefore, We command all Our Brethren and Knights Freemasons belonging to the Union of the Provincial Lodge of Russia,—Ruling Masters and their Deputies, Wardens and Officers, also Scottish Masters and all Masters Elect, St. John's Masters, Fellow-Craftsmen and Apprentices,—to obey the above-mentioned Prince; otherwise they will break the oath of Knight-Mason taken by them of their own free will and accord and will expose themselves to accusation and punishment according to that oath.

This is given in witness of Our decision to all Brethren Knight-Freemasons, present or absent, wherever dispersed over the surface of the Earth, and We recommend them all jointly with the said Prince to the protection and mercy of the Most High Builder, the Great Lord God.

To confirm the above, this Patent is signed with Our Own Hand and Our Seal is affixed thereto.

Given in the East of Stockholm, in the seat of Our Government, at the place where the splendour of Light illumines the work and banishes darkness, on the 7th day of the 5th Month in the Year of Grace 1779.

Karl+

Supreme Chief and the Most Wise Vicarius Solomonis

<i>Fr. Horn</i> +Count	<i>Nils Bjelke</i> +Count	<i>V. Stenhagen</i> +
Deputy Provincial	High Chancellor	Grand Orator
Grand Master		
<i>Paul Pfeif</i> +Baron	<i>E. v. Stockenstrom</i> +Count	<i>S. Levenhaupt</i> +Count
Grand Inquisitor	1st. Grand Inspector	2nd. Grand Inspector
<i>S. v. Leionhelm</i> +Baron	<i>S. A. Vachtmeister</i> Baron	
3rd. Grand Inspector	1st. Grand Warden	
<i>A. N. Stenbock</i> +Count	<i>S. v. Plumenfeldt</i> +	
2nd. Grand Warden	Grand Treasurer	

Fr. Spappe+Baron
Grand Almoner

S. G. Oxensterna+Baron
Grand Director of Ceremonies

Karl Fredenheim
For Grand Secretary.

Soon after the issue of this Patent, namely, on the 25th May, 1779, the Grand National Lodge of the Swedish System was solemnly opened in St. Petersburg as the *visible* governing body for all Russian Lodges adhering to Sweden, although the real governing body, concealed from the profane world and ordinary Masons, was as heretofore the Chapter Phoenix. Prince G. P. Gagarin remained the virtual head of the whole Union of Swedish Lodges in Russia, and all members of the Union were enjoined by their Supreme Chiefs in Stockholm to be strictly obedient to their Grand Master, but, as already mentioned, this Grand Master himself was dependent on the Supreme Governing Body of Swedish Freemasonry and its presiding chief in the Swedish capital. Thus, a very strict autocratic Masonic rule was established in Russia. The obvious drawback was that the autocratic chief of the whole system was a Prince foreign to Russia—a Prince of Sweden—and the consequences of this soon made themselves apparent.

In the same year, 1779, the attention of the Russian Government was attracted to the Swedish Masonic Union in Russia. The chief Police Officer of St. Petersburg Peter Vassilievich Lopukin personally visited Prince Gagarin's Lodges twice with the express purpose of discovering and "to inform Her Majesty the Empress concerning their correspondence with Duke Karl of Sudermanlandia." Close relations between Russian Masons of the Swedish System and a Prince of a foreign nation gradually aroused the Empress's strong discontent and suspicions. She was exceedingly angry when the fact that 500 gold pieces had been sent from Sweden to Russia for assistance to Swedish Masonry in Russia, was disclosed to her. However, there was nothing actually disloyal or pernicious in the doctrines and work of the Swedish Brethren in Russia, hence no further action was taken, and the Union continued to grow.¹

In addition to previous agreements and instructions, on the 5th of next January the following Rules or Laws for the Grand National Lodge in Russia were sent from Stockholm²:—

"LAWS

For the Russian Grand National Lodge.

Given on the 5th January, 1780.

§1. Inasmuch as the Grand National Lodge of the Russian Empire has under its Rule provinces peopled with Brethren of different nationalities, it is necessary to have two Brethren for each of certain Offices, as will be clear from the following regulations:—

Grand Officers of the Grand National Lodge—

1. Grand National Master.
2. Two Deputy Grand National Masters.
3. Two Grand Wardens (one for Russian Brethren and the other for German Brethren).
4. Two Grand Secretaries (one for each of the two said nationalities).
5. Two Grand Orators.
6. One Grand Treasurer.
7. One Grand Keeper of the Sword or Director of Ceremonies.
8. Two Grand Almoners.

The Grand Lodge has also its own Grand Tyler or Guard.

¹ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 6-8.

² *Sokolovskaia, Supplements to the Chapter Phoenix*, N. 1.

§2. The Grand Master (or his Deputy), has the power and right, not only to be present in every subordinate Lodge when it works, but also, should he so desire, to conduct the work, having the Master of the respective Lodge at his left. In the latter case he (the Grand Master) may be accompanied, if such is his desire, by both Grand Wardens to carry out his respective commands. The Grand Wardens have, however, no right to occupy Wardens' chairs in a Lodge, if the Grand Master is absent, or if they have not received from him a specific order to that effect, as the Grand Master may temporarily entrust the execution of their office to regular Wardens of the Lodge, or to some other Brethren.

N.B. As indicated above, Deputy Grand Masters have the right of being present and conducting working Lodges, but with the limitation that the Russian Deputy Grand Master does so in Russian Lodges and the German Deputy in German Lodges.

§3. Besides the Grand Officers enumerated in Clause 1, all Masters, Deputy Masters and Wardens of subordinate Lodges are members of the Grand Lodge.

§4. The Grand Lodge assembles in full form seven times in a year, namely, on the first day of every yearly quarter and on the days of the following three festivals—St. John's Festival, June 24th; St. John the Baptist's, August 29th; and the establishment of the Grand Lodge, May 25th.¹

§5. During its quarterly communications the Grand Lodge considers reports of individual Lodges, discusses matters concerning Freemasonry in general, informs Brethren of any new regulations, receives appeals of allied Lodges and decides upon them accordingly to established rules; lastly, it communicates to Lodges all necessary instruction and knowledge.

§6. To the celebration of the three great festivals the Grand Lodge may issue invitations also to those Brethren who are not its members. The manner in which these festivals are held according to ancient customs is described in a special book.

During these celebrations no business is transacted in the Grand Lodge.

§7. In addition to the aforesaid seven meetings, the Grand Master has the right of assembling his Grand Officers when and as often as he wills.

§8. In all meetings of the Grand Lodge, when the business in question is not left to the Grand Master's discretion, he has two votes, every other member possessing only one vote.

All those Brethren who have previously been Grand Masters, Deputy Grand Masters and Grand Wardens, or are still filling such Offices are members of the Grand Lodge and have the right of voting.

§10. Ruling Masters of Lodges of the Union, Deputy Masters and Wardens come to the Grand Lodge Meetings in their regalia. If one of these officers, because of some obstacle, cannot be present in the Grand Lodge, he may send as his substitute any Brother who occupies a similar post entitling him to be a member of the Grand Lodge. If such a Brother is not available, no substitute may be sent.

¹ Besides these dates, the Day of St. John Chrysostom (January 27th) and of the Apostle Andrew (November 30th) were also celebrated. See *The Chapter Phoenix*, 16.

§11. If a Brother is prevented from attending the Grand Lodge, he must report this, and should he fail to do so, he is liable to a fine.

§12. At the opening of the Grand Lodge, the Director of Ceremonies calls the roll of Lodges in the order of their respective seniority. After the Lodge has been opened, the Director of Ceremonies calls the roll of all members by their respective names, and those who are not present are subject to a fine for the benefit of the poor; this fine equals one rouble.

§13. In the last month of each yearly quarter the Grand Master sends his Deputies or some other Grand Officers to inspect the working Lodges. Such inspecting Brother must be provided with the necessary authority in writing.

§14. The Grand Master himself must also visit together with his officers the working Lodges of the Union at least once a year.

§15. In remote districts where there is no Provincial Grand Master, the inspection of Lodges is entrusted to the eldest Brother of such district or to any other Brother whom the Grand Lodge considers fit.

§16. If the Master in the Chair of a Lodge has no higher grade than that of St. John's Master, he is bound to hand his gavel to a Scottish Brother, should the latter visit his Lodge, and the Scottish Brother is bound to hand the gavel to a Brother of a higher degree, as soon as the latter enters the Lodge; Brethren of higher degrees know best themselves to whom they have eventually to hand the gavel.

§17. A chair at the right of the Altar must be placed in every working Lodge for the Grand National Master. Nobody in his absence, with the exception of the Deputy Grand Master, has the right of occupying this chair.

§18. As some Master in the Chair may not know what signs of honour are due to Brethren of higher degrees when the latter enter a Lodge, the following is herewith described:—Brethren wearing Purple Ribbons have the right of crossing the carpet, those wearing Green Ribbons have the right of walking at the right of the carpet and occupying seats on the same side, Scottish Brethren walk at the left of the carpet and occupy seats on that side.

§19. If any Brother commits a fault, the Master in the Chair has the right of admonishing him in the presence of the Officers of his Lodge. If after that the culprit does not better himself, the Master in the Chair informs the Grand Lodge thereof. Should any Brother be dissatisfied with a verdict of his Lodge directed against him, such Brother has also the right of Appeal to the Grand Lodge.

§20. No Master in the Chair has the right of admitting into his Lodge a visitor who belongs to some Lodge not allied to the Union, and especially so in case of Lodges which, though working in the Russian Empire, did not submit to their lawful Mother (that is to say, to the Grand National Lodge). Should, however, a Master in the Chair desire to admit such a Brother into his Lodge, in view of some highly important consideration, he may do so after having first obtained permission from the Grand National Master.

§21. To ensure better order and to avoid a greater number of serving Brethren, the Grand National Lodge shall keep on its own account a certain legal number of such Brethren, who must be present during

the work of Lodges of the Union; hence, no Lodge of the Union possesses the right of bringing into the precincts of the Grand Lodge its own serving Brethren, even at the request of a Brother of higher rank.

§22. Although it is not seemly for the Grand National Master and his Grand Officers to occupy similar offices in ordinary Lodges of the Union, this is allowed in view of the present state of the Order in Russia.¹

§23. During Lodge banquets the following toasts are to be fired and in order as below:—

1. To the Reigning House of the Country and to all High Protectors of the Order; this toast is drunk upstanding and before sitting down to table;
2. To the Highly Worshipful Swedish Lodge² and its Grand Master, upstanding;
3. To the Russian National Lodge, its Grand Master and Grand Officers, upstanding;
4. To the Master in the Chair, upstanding unless he allows otherwise;
5. To the Lodge Officers, seated;
6. To Lodges of the Union;
7. Visitors' toast;
8. To the newly accepted or raised Brother.

These toasts are followed by others which may seem desirable to Brethren.

9. To all Freemasons dispersed over the earthly globe; the chain is formed during this toast.

When the Lodge business is terminated Brethren are permitted to drink the health of sister-Masons, but without any ritualistic signs."³

On the 18th May, 1780,⁴ fourteen Lodges were included in the Union of Swedish Masonry in Russia, namely: Apollo, in St. Petersburg; Three Swords, in Moscow; Three Battle-Axes (or Hammers), in Reval; Phoenix, in St. Petersburg; Three Christian Virtues, in Moscow; St. Alexander, in St. Petersburg; Apis, in Moscow; Brilliant (or Flaming) Star, in St. Petersburg; Military Union, in Kinburn; Charity, in St. Petersburg; Horus, in St. Petersburg; Neptune, in Kronstadt; Osiris, in Moscow; and Union of Young Warriors (working in French).

From this it appears that during the period under consideration a certain measure of success was achieved by the propagators of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia; its doctrines seem to have attracted a number of Russian Brethren, which perhaps is not surprising if one considers the inner working of this important Masonic movement.

Swedish Freemasonry, as introduced into Russia in the eighteenth century, presented a peculiar combination of the three Symbolic Masonic degrees with Templar and Rosicrucian grades.⁵ Each of these three factors—Symbolic Masonry, Templar Degrees and Rosicrucianism—helped to shape it, and each introduced into the Swedish System its peculiar doctrines and ideals: Symbolic Masonry, the attainment of the 'golden age of Astrea' through moral improvement of each individual Brother; Templar Degrees, a struggle with the enemies of

¹ Meaning the shortage of experienced officers of Swedish System.

² Meaning Swedish Grand Lodge.

³ From this it appears that the toast in question did not mean women initiated into Freemasonry, but wives or sisters or other near relatives of regular Brethren.

⁴ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 8.

⁵ *ib.*, 8-9.

Christianity and virtue acquired in the first three degrees; Rosicrucianism, the mysticism of esoteric Christianity. Hence, the general plan of the work to be performed by every Brother as traced out by the Masonic chiefs was apparently in three stages:—(1) Moral self-improvement and strengthening of Christian virtues in individual members; (2) active fight for Christianity and virtue against the forces of evil; and (3) mystical attainment through perseverance in the first two stages of approach to Christ Himself in His Inner Church. Whereas the Symbolic degrees seem to have followed the orthodox English pattern of such, the Templar degrees were accompanied by exceptionally gorgeous accessories, reviving the knightly splendour of mediæval times. A study of Theosophy and Alchemy was induced by Rosicrucian degrees. Speaking in the figurative language of the time, Russian members of the Swedish System were first endeavouring to erect in their souls 'the Temple of Light and Virtue,' then to defend it against the onslaughts of Vice, and lastly, to celebrate therein 'the great mystery of reunion with Christ.'

The Swedish System affirmed that it owed its origin to the Order of Knights Templars, the mysteries of which it professed to possess. The organisation of the System was characterised by a strictly defined hierarchy of grades and rank. Autocratic in its direction, with unchangeable high officials, the System insisted on a complete obedience of Brethren of lower degrees to their superiors of higher rank. It consisted of ten degrees:—

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Apprentice, | } | first class, St. John's Lodges. |
| 2. Fellow-craft, | | |
| 3. Master, | | |
| 4. Scottish Apprentice-Fellow, | } | second class.
(St. Andrew's degrees), St.
Andrew's or Scottish Lodges. |
| 5. Scottish Master, | | |
| 6. Steward Brethren or
Knights of East and Jerusalem, | } | 3rd class
(Knightly degrees)
chapters. ¹ |
| 7. Brethren Elect of King Solomon or
Knights of the Temple
(also called Knights of the West or
of the Key), | | |
| 8. Confidants of St. John or
Brethren of White Ribbon, | | |
| 9. Confidants of St. Andrew or
Brethren of Purple Ribbon, | | |
| 10. Brethren of the Rosy Cross. | | |

Adepts of the tenth degree were sub-divided into three further classes:—

1. Members of the Ruling Chapter not occupying any office therein;
2. Grand Officers of the Chapter;
3. The Grand Ruling Master who was the King of Sweden himself.

Thus, possessors of the honours of the tenth degree formed the Illuminated Chapter, offices of which could be occupied only by members of the high nobility, who were required to prove not less than four ancestors belonging to this class.

After this glance at the inner life of Swedish Masonry in Russia in the eighteenth century I shall proceed with its further history in that country. On the 9th day of May, 1780,² a definite shape was given to the organisation of the Russian National Lodge following a detailed Instruction issued from Sweden. This Instruction, signed by the same Karl, Duke of Sudermanlandia, exacts again the strict obedience of Russian Lodges to the governing Masonic body in Sweden and recommends the establishment of a Directory attached to the

¹ For the establishment of a Chapter it was deemed necessary to have three 'working' or St. John's Lodges and one Scottish Lodge. The Chapter was 'legal' if 27 knights were present, 'ordinary' if 49 knights were present, and 'perfect' if, without counting the President and Chaplains, 81 knights were assembled.

² *The Chapter Phœnix*, 9.

Petersburg Chapter. Such Directory should consist solely of Brethren elected among Members of the Chapter. Its task would be that of a Supreme Masonic Court observing the right fulfilment of laws, statutes and rituals of the Order. The Instruction begins thus¹:—

“ We, Karl, by the Grace of God, Hereditary Prince of Sweden, of Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sudermanlandia, Heir-Apparent to Norway, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, Stormar, Ditmar, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, Grand Admiral of Sweden, Perpetual Inspector-General and Master of Heraldry of the Holy Order of the Temple of Jerusalem, Grand Provincial Master of VII. and IX. Provinces (that is, Sweden and Russia) known in this Order as Knight and Brother of the life-giving Sun, do hereby declare²:—

Taking into consideration the laudable and most especial attachment and zeal towards the good of Our Holy Order, shown by Brethren of the Most Worshipful Chapter founded by Us in St. Petersburg at the time of Our decision to kindle Light therein; taking also into consideration the extent of the Russian Empire requiring a special vigilance over orderly procedure and strict maintenance of the laws of Our Holy Order,—to prevent and to correct promptly any misdeeds and disorders which might occur in Masonic Lodges and Chapters which are or may be formed in this Empire at any future date, we find it necessary to establish according to the second clause of the Covenant of the 10th of April, 1778,³ a Directory in St. Petersburg which should not only watch over the execution of laws, statutes and rituals of the Holy Order, but also decide and judge all disagreements which may arise among Brethren both Masons and Templars who are working with the purpose of disseminating and preserving Light and therefore should not be controlled by profane judges, the latter not being qualified to judge all this.

For such purpose We desire to give to those Most Worshipful Brethren who will form the said Directory an Instruction which, being founded on ancient laws and customs, from olden times accepted and established in Our Holy Order, will serve them as a Constitution; following the latter they shall in future rule over all business relating to the Holy Order of the Temple of Jerusalem in all parts of the Russian Empire.

We trust that the said worthy Brethren through their obedience and strictness in the fulfilment of the clauses of the Instruction will entirely justify our expectations and the tender confidence We feel towards their zeal.”

The first clause of the Instruction shows the double face assumed by the Supreme Ruling Power of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia—the Chapter Phoenix for the chosen Brethren and the Grand National, or Provincial, Lodge for all ordinary Brethren and for the profane world; similarly, the new Directory formed of members of the Chapter, had to be known openly as the Council of the Grand National Lodge. In this manner for ordinary Lodges and Brethren the supreme Masonic government was centred in the Grand Lodge; its Grand Master was invested with high authority, and his office was made inseparable from the concealed rank of the Grand Prefect of the Chapter Phoenix and President of the Directory. The Grand Master was virtually not responsible to the Brethren and held his high office *ad vitam* unless he resigned of his own will. All members of the Directory had also to be members of the Grand Lodge

¹ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 10 and 11.

² The Duke of Sudermanlandia was installed Grand Master by his brother the King of Sweden, Protector of the Order, on the 15th of March, 1780. A deputy was sent by Russian Masons of Swedish adherence to attend the ceremony of his installation. (*Transactions of the Lodge Quatuor Coronati*, vol i., p. 205.)

³ See *ante*.

and to be known under their directorial ranks only to chosen Brethren worthy of absolute trust.

The Directory had to be composed of the following members:—Grand Prefect, Chaplain of the Petersburg Chapter, Conductor of Novices, Grand Inspector of Archives, Deacon, Procurator, 1st and 2nd Grand Inspectors of the Temple, Grand Treasurer, Grand Almoner, Grand Herald and in addition to him a Secretary and a Librarian, both elected by the Directory; the two latter, however, did not possess the right of voting. Only Masons of high standing who had passed not less than seven degrees could have the privilege of an office in the Directory.

The Directory had to be divided into two Chambers:—the lower or executive Chamber and the upper or legislative Chamber. Only Knights of the highest grades were admitted into the legislative Chamber; they were called Commanders and were entitled to wear a crowned Gold Cross. In the centre of this particular jewel or Cross the letter B was placed; it was supposed to denote *Bustos* or burnt, to remind Knights of the untimely death of the Grand Master of the Templar Order Molay; its symbolical signification was “the burning out of man’s earthly passions on his way to the victory of Spirit over Flesh.”¹

The Petersburg Directory was duly established and assumed virtual control over the whole Union.² No new member could be admitted into any Lodge of the Union without its full knowledge. The 5th clause of the said Instruction is very clear about its position in the Craft:—“All Masonic Lodges, be they St. John’s or St. Andrew’s Lodges, and also every Chapter already existent, or which may later be established in any part of the Russian Empire, are obliged to obey the Directory in everything and without delay, besides submitting full reports of their state, work, financial position and initiations.” We read further in the same clause:—“Nobody is permitted to make any innovations or to put into execution any project without the knowledge or, still less, against the opinion or without the approval of the Directory.” Those guilty of self-will were to be excluded from the list of “true Freemasons and faithful Knights of the Temple.”

The Instruction did not, however, forget to remind the powerful Directory of its dependence on the Swedish Masonic Authorities; this was expressed in the following unequivocal terms:—“As the Russian Directory depends solely on the Grand Provincial Master of the 9th province,³ it is under the obligation of fulfilling strictly all the clauses of the Agreement of the year 1778 and must never begin anything of its own will without having previously obtained the consent of the Grand Provincial Master. For this purpose the Directory shall be in constant communication with the Directory of the Northern Priory in Stockholm which must be informed not only of everything pertaining to the general good of the Order, but also of all that concerns private affairs of Lodges and Chapters worthy of attention of the Grand Provincial Master. The Petersburg Directory must therefore send to the Grand Directory in Stockholm every six months a full report about Lodges and Chapters working in the whole Russian Empire and at the end of each year a short general survey of remarkable events of the year under review.” The Grand Directory in Stockholm also reserved the right of appointing a representative to be present at the sittings of the Russian Directory. This representative had to be chosen by the Grand Provincial Master of the 9th Province. On the other hand, the Russian Directory was granted the privilege of having a representative with similar functions in Stockholm.

Members of the Directory had to take an obligation to fulfil strictly all the clauses of the Swedish Instruction. This obligation was given on the New Testament and sealed on a Cross; it ended with such expressions as:—“I promise to keep all the aforesaid sacredly and sincerely by the strength of the

¹ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 12.

² *ib.*, 13.

³ The Duke of Sudermanlandia.

Cross I am wearing as a true, free and faithful Knight of the Order of the Temple of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The obligation was, however, so worded that it could be given by Russian Brethren without any scruples as to their duties towards the Russian Sovereign, namely, they promised "to obey him (the Duke of Sudermanlandia) in everything that is not contrary to the allegiance, obedience and loyalty owed to the lawful Sovereign and Authorities of the Realm and of the Church."¹

Together with the Instruction were sent ciphers for secret Masonic correspondence, an especial seal for the Chapter Phoenix and another one for the first Scottish Lodge of the Swedish System in Russia, established under the name of Sphynx in 1780. Besides, the general plan of work was apparently also intimated to the leaders of the Petersburg Chapter.²

This "great plan" entrusted to the chosen Russian Brethren concerned not only the inner activities of the Order and the individual work of every member on his own inner self, as described, but related to the moral influence which the Order and its members should exercise externally. The aim of this external work was two-fold: (1) The struggle with atheistic and radical ideas, and (2) the re-establishment of the Templar Order as a means thereto.

Among members of the Swedish Chapter in St. Petersburg, some of the best Russian families had their representatives:—Counts Apraxin, Princes Gagarin, Princes Dolgoruky, Princes Kurakin, Counts Shuvalov, etc. Such eminent Russians as Prince N. B. Repnin,³ Count A. S. Stroganov,⁴ Count A. I. Mussin-Pushkin,⁵ were also its members. Evidently, Swedish doctrines continued to find a strong adherence among influential Russian Brethren.

Ivan Boeber⁶ was elected Secretary of the Grand Lodge and soon became a great influence in the Order. This was due not only to his great industry but also to his amiable and kind character. He was described as a man "who knew how to satisfy and please every Brother" and as an exceptionally able compiler of Masonic documents and circulars. One of Boeber's first tasks was to bring into order the Archives of the Grand Lodge which included all available Rituals, Rules, Warrants, Patents, etc. He soon discovered that the stock of Rituals was not adequate; nothing higher than that of the seventh grade was at hand and in spite of many solemn promises the Swedish Chiefs were continually delaying the transmission. It seems that the reception into the seventh degree was the highest honour an ordinary Russian Mason could then attain in Russia.⁷ It may be that in this way Swedish Authorities thought to have a still stronger hold on Russian Lodges.

In spite of its successes, the Swedish Grand Lodge in Russia notably failed to unite all Russian Brethren.⁸ The influential Grand Master of Russian Lodges of the English System Ivan Perfilievich Yelaguin,⁹ although at first interested in Prince Kurakin's efforts to get into contact with Sweden and to bring to Russia the Swedish Masonic mysteries, had since shown considerable coolness towards Prince Gagarin. Efforts were made to placate

¹ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 14.

² *ib.*, 15.

³ Prince Nikolai Vassilievich Repnin, General in Chief of the Russian Army and one of the most faithful friends of the Grand Duke Paul, born on the 11th March, 1734; died on the 12th May, 1801. See Barskov's *Correspondence of Moscow Masons*, Petrograd, 1915, p. xxvi.

⁴ Count Alexander Sergievich Stroganov, President of the Russian Academy of Arts, according to the Empress Catherine's statement:—"So kind as to be really weak," was initiated in Paris; born on the 3rd January, 1734; died on the 27th September, 1811. See Longinov's *Novikov and Moscow Martinists*, Moscow, 1867, p. 168.

⁵ Count Alexei Ivanovich Mussin-Pushkin, born on the 16th March, 1744; died on the 1st February, 1817.

⁶ Ivan Vassilievich Boeber, born 22nd December, 1746; died 14th July, 1820; corresponding member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences and of many learned Societies. About him see the Author's paper:—*Some Aspects of Russian Freemasonry during the Reign of the Emperor Alexander I.*

⁷ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 16.

⁸ B. Telepnef, *Russian Masons* (London, 1925), 14.

⁹ 1725-1794; B. Telepnef, *Russian Masons* (London, 1925), 8.

Yelaguin, and he was invited to receive a high Swedish degree, but Yelaguin would not commit himself to anything. A far-sighted and prudent Masonic leader, he justly feared the consequences of that slavish obedience which was exacted from Russian Lodges by Swedish Chiefs and decided to oppose the spreading of their system in Russia. This attitude of Yelaguin and his opposition were intensified when the marked displeasure of the Empress Catherine became known, for she continued to view with some dismay and doubts the dependence on the Duke of Sudermanlandia of her prominent statesmen and courtiers.¹ Moreover, even the Russian Masons themselves were alarmed at this unusual demand of such strict obedience to foreign superiors, for patriotic feelings were always deep and earnest in the regular Russian Lodges. At last matters came to a crisis. Prince Gagarin was obliged to accept a post in Moscow offered to him by the Empress. He left St. Petersburg, for Moscow in 1781, and the Chapter Phoenix, the vital part of Swedish Masonic organisation in Russia, became dormant. This, however, did not mean an ultimate end of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia, for its spirit remained alive, and its roots were strong enough to weather the storm. A circle of adherents and adepts of the System remained in St. Petersburg, and another was being formed in Moscow although without playing the same considerable role as before. Its chief supporters were among the Russian high nobility and among Russian officers of the fleet and the army.²

There was even one Lodge of the Swedish System in Russia which never interrupted its activities and continued to be in communication with Masonic Authorities in Sweden. This was the Lodge Pelican,³ which preserved those Swedish rituals, as practised in Russia, through all the troubles which befell Masonry in the last years of the Empress Catherine's reign until the day of the great restoration of Swedish Masonry in Russia in the early years of the nineteenth century,⁴ a restoration without the same 'slavish obedience' to Swedish Superiors as enforced by Swedes in the previous century. The Chapter Phoenix, 'like a spark hidden in ashes,' like its own symbol—the Phoenix—though somewhat transformed, was brought to life again. The influence of Swedish Freemasonry in Russia, though presented in gorgeous ceremonial yet undoubtedly ennobling and elevating, was felt for some time even after the closing of Russian Lodges in 1822.⁵

To these few notes on Swedish Freemasonry in Russia in the eighteenth century I shall now append a description of the highest initiation conferred from time to time on chosen Russian Brethren in the said Chapter Phoenix.⁶

The meeting place was divided into three parts:—the vestibule, the temple and the Holy of Holies. The Holy of Holies, or Sanctuary, was described as "an exterior symbol of that inner state of peace in the Deity, which may be attained by the enlightened assembly of the Perfected Elect," as a visible sign in the physical world of the invisible or spiritual principle dwelling both in Nature and in Man; it also corresponded to the Divine Nature of Christ. The temple was supposed to represent "the union of the Divine with the human principle, the visible Nature of Christ, human soul, the assembly of the faithful." The vestibule was an image of "the natural world, of the human body, and of the assembly of all those who know the darkness of sin and are desirous of the Light of true Wisdom."

¹ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 17.

² It is remarkable that, in spite of Masonic adherence to Swedish chiefs, Russian Masons of Swedish creed did not hesitate to fight gallantly against Sweden in 1788. The victorious Admiral S. K. Greig (1767-1829), Master in the Chair of the Lodge Neptune working on the Russian warship *Rostislav*, is a brilliant example of their bravery, skill and patriotism. *The Chapter Phoenix*, 18.

³ Also surnamed "Charity of Pelican."

⁴ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 21. See also *Some Aspects of Russian Freemasonry during the reign of the Emperor Alexander I.*

⁵ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 90.

⁶ For the following see *The Chapter Phoenix*, Part II.

A white curtain concealed the Sanctuary from the eyes of the un-enlightened. On this curtain a Templar Cross was embroidered in red silk and also two Latin initials, V.V., meaning *Veni, Vidi*, or, as explained by the Swedish Knights, "Come, and thou shalt see Light."

The temple was lighted up by eighty-one tall wax candles placed in golden candelabra of three and seven lights each. The walls were richly covered with red hangings; the floor—with red cloth divided diagonally by a green St. Andrew's Cross. In the East were placed seven steep steps leading to the Sacrificial Altar and the Prefect's throne.

The Prefect's throne was draped in kingly purple with a white canopy over it. The Sacrificial Altar standing in front of the throne was covered with white silk, and an eight-pointed Cross was depicted on the cover; the Altar was supported by lions' heads. On the Altar was placed a sepulchre wrought in stone with the carved image of the last Grand Master of the Knights Templars Molay; on the sepulchral cover the following Latin letters were represented:—"I.B.M.B.A.D.I.C. 1314"; obviously reminding Knights of his untimely and cruel death. At the left of the Sacrificial Altar was placed the War Banner of the Order—red, with a white Cross.

In the middle of the Temple a black gallows-tree was erected, on which a golden Templar Cross was hanging; a black sepulchral cover embroidered with flames of gold was placed at the foot of this gibbet. At its left stood a fully armed Knight Templar with the visor of his helmet down.

The Chapter was opened with the clash of swords. The Grand Prefect struck the Sacrificial Altar with his sword, Grand Wardens crossed theirs. The Grand Prefect proceeded by giving three gavel-knocks, and the Grand Wardens did the same with their swords. This was followed by one knock by the Grand Prefect, repeated by his Wardens and a gavel-battery of four knocks by the same three officers. The Chapter was then declared opened, and all Knights present crossed their hands on their breasts, this being the sign of fidelity of that particular degree.

Every Knight present in the Chapter had to be attired in the garments appertaining to the high degree worked therein. These garments consisted of white woollen mantles with eight-pointed Crosses embroidered in red, super-vests of gold brocade, white tunics edged with black, girdles of red silk, boots with spurs, white hats with red cockades and white plumes, white gloves with the representation of a cross in red and of the individual arms of every Knight. Different ranks attained by members of the Chapter were distinguished by Crosses, chains and sashes of different colours, shapes and materials, worn either round the neck or over the shoulder. Every Knight had a long sword with a crown and a cross upon its hilt. Swedish Knights, if such were present, were clad in complete Mediæval armour—chain mail, cuirass and helmet.

After the Chapter had been opened, the youngest Herald in a white silk mantle adorned with gold and wearing a hat with red and white plumes called the roll of the members of the Chapter entitled to be present.

The Grand Prefect then commanded that all the necessary jewels and ornaments should be brought into the Temple. Two Heralds and two Directors of Ceremonies, accompanied by Grand Officers, immediately departed to an adjoining room, where the jewels of the Order were kept. They came back in a solemn procession: first, two Directors of Ceremonies, then two Heralds, the Standard-Bearer, the Grand Treasurer carrying sashes and rings, the Secretary carrying spurs, the Prior with the Holy Bible, and last, two Grand Keepers of the Temple. These jewels were placed on special tables, the Bible was put on the Sacrificial Altar. The Prefect having taken his place on the throne opened the Bible at the 21st chapter of the Revelation of St. John and placed his sword on the open page.

The ceremony began with the Grand Prefect's question: "Enlightened Brethren, Keepers of the Temple, what is the hour?" and the answer: "The Sun of Truth is shining from the heights of the East."

The Prefect continued: "May the Light of the Sun shine in your souls!"

Soft music followed this and a hidden choir chanted: "How glorious is Our Lord in Zion," all Knights crossing both arms on their breasts and kneeling down.

A prayer by the Prefect followed:—"May Our Divine Grand Master bless our present assembly, may He dwell among us, endowing us by His Grace with strength to fulfil all Masonic virtues, may He join us, although unworthy, to the chosen Holy Warriors to whom belongs the Crown of Victory, and may they become keepers of the marvellous road leading to the Temple of glorious Eternity."

After this or a similar prayer, the Chapter was declared "opened in perfection."

Should a candidate for admission to the degree be waiting outside, the Grand Prefect demanded the candidate's genealogical table to be read aloud. If this was found in order, two Brethren who vouched for the candidate's good faith were directed to bring him into the Chapter.

The candidate's admission was granted after six distinct knocks, each symbolising one of the degrees already passed by the candidate. At the seventh knock the door suddenly opened.

The candidate had to carry a sword to show his readiness to defend the Order. He was dressed in a coat of yellow leather, and wore a scarf belonging to the degree of Knights of the East (green with three ruby crosses). He remained covered. In his hands were placed two documents, one being his genealogical table and the other an invitation to join the higher work of the Order addressed to him by the Grand Prefect of the Chapter.

The candidate was directed to approach the gallows-tree, and the invitation from the Grand Prefect was taken from him by the two guarantors, who then burnt it and scattered the ashes. An oath was administered to the candidate, who had to swear to be "a faithful, modest, obedient, stable, zealous, fiery warrior and a valiant noble Knight."

After the solemn administration of this oath, the candidate was questioned: "Do you swear by the Almighty and by the honour of a true Mason to co-operate in furthering the Order and to defend It from Its foes, visible and invisible?"

He replied: "I swear by the Holy Gospel and by the sign of the Cross, to be obedient to the Commands of the Superiors and if called by them to hasten to combat till my death all enemies of the Cross and of the Order."

"May 'Victory or Death' be your constant motto!" With these words the members of the Chapter signified the acceptance of the candidate into their midst.

Two further vows were required from the candidate: (1) To keep inviolate the secrets of the Order, and (2) not to join the ranks of the Knights of Malta. After these had been taken, suitable armour for the newly-elected Knight Templar was brought in. He was then robed by the Grand Prefect himself with words appropriate to every part of the candidate's new garment.

The candidate was first presented with a coat of mail:—"Be thou vested with the armour of God, so that thou mayest withstand the devil's assaults." Then with gauntlets:—"Mayest thou withstand the evil day and conquer everything, remaining steadfast." Afterwards with a helmet:—"Take the helmet of Salvation and under the sign of the Cross thou shalt not be frightened by thy enemies' blows and ambushes"; then with spurs:—"Be thou like God's tempest in the hour of struggle, but have thy feet ever shod to go and proclaim peace"; then with a sword:—"Gird a spiritual sword which is God's Word. Remember that this sword of a Knight Templar returns from a field of battle only victorious"; and with a golden ring:—"Accept this ring as a token of the unbreakable union entered into by thee to-day with the Order of Our Lord, the very Order of the Holy Temple. Now thou hast become one in close union with us. Mayest thou be thyself as a ring and signet on God's Finger."

Finally a red enamelled eight-pointed cross bordered with gold and suspended from a white silk ribbon edged with green was presented to the candidate with a solemn admonition:—"May the Cross be thy justification and may this jewel ever incite thee to merit such justification."

The candidate was bidden to kneel down, and the Grand Prefect proceeded to give him the accolade. This was done by touching first the candidate's right shoulder with the words:—"Be Master and cease to be servant!" The candidate's left shoulder was then touched:—"Be a free man and cease to be a slave."

After the accolade, the Grand Prefect invoked the blessing of the Almighty, laying both hands on the candidate's head:—"May the Lord bless thy entrance into this life and thy departure from it, and may He grant to thee a peaceful and happy life." The Cross wrought in the hilt of the Prefect's sword was then kissed by the newly-initiated Templar, he was raised from his kneeling posture and was proclaimed by the Heralds.

The ceremony continued:—"Thou hast been consecrated only as a worldly Knight," the Grand Prefect proceeded to explain to the new member of the Order, "Yet, our fore-runners, the ancient Knights of the Temple, were also spiritual Knights, and thus thy union with the Order must become complete in the Sanctuary."

The white curtain hiding the Holy of Holies was then rent asunder, and the Sanctuary itself presented to the candidate's eyes. A skilfully managed lighting effect made this Sanctuary look like a space of vast dimensions, partly lost in far-off dim distance. Shadowy outlines of a mountain vaguely appeared on the seemingly remote horizon, and a golden Cross with a ruby rose glittered on its summit. Close to the partition dividing the Sanctuary from the Temple stood the Grand Altar clothed in purple; on it a seven-branched candelabrum with candles lighted, but overshadowed by the golden wings of the Cherubim, shone on the first words of the opened Revelation of St. John. A dimly twinkling lamp, representing "the faltering light of reason," was placed near by and also a brilliantly shining "Crown of Life Eternal of Immortality." The Banner of the Order was unfolded over the Grand Altar (this Banner was purple with the Image of the Divine Lamb), and under this Banner another standard of the Order—white with an eight-pointed red Cross. A golden sceptre, "the sign of power," and a golden key with a triangle, "the sign of knowledge," adorned the Grand Altar, and incense burned before it. Besides the Altar, a purificatory font was placed in the Sanctuary. The Grand Prelate of the Chapter stood before the Altar; his two assistants officiated with the censer and the water of ablution.

The candidate entered the Sanctuary in a solemn procession formed by the two Directors of Ceremonies with white wands of ivory, two Stewards with golden battle-axes, and a Herald, followed by the candidate, his guarantors and the Wardens of the Temple.

The Prelate began by chanting:—"Glory be to God in the Highest and on earth peace, goodwill towards men," and a chorus replied:—"Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord."

A further oath was then demanded from the candidate. It had to be given in a kneeling posture before the Grand Altar, two fingers being placed on the Holy Gospel:—"In the name of the Thrice Great Builder of the Universe, our Lord and God, I vow to keep myself under constant observation, to fight my passions and to conquer them with God's help. Moreover, I vow always to profess and never to deny the only true Apostolic and Evangelic faith,¹ to defend it till my death and, should this be necessary, to sacrifice my blood and life, and I pray the Most High Builder to grant me His blessing in the fulfilment of all this." The oath was sealed by kissing the Gospel placed on the Grand Altar.

¹ Russian Masons understood under this profession of faith, loyalty to their national Orthodox, or Greco-Catholic Church. See *The Chapter Phoenix*, 34.

Having taken the oath, the candidate was divested of his knightly armour. The Grand Prelate placed his hand on the candidate's head, saying:—"Be divested of the former manner of life of the ancient man, corrupted through the enticement of lusts, be clothed into a new man, created according to God's image in justice and holiness of truth."

The basin for ablution was then brought, and the candidate (now called the Novice) performed the ablution of his hands, his forehead and his heart, whilst the Grand Prelate was saying:—"May the Lord wash thy Heart in the Blood of the Lamb, and thou wilt find Eternal Salvation."

The Novice was then clothed in a white robe, the Grand Prelate continuing:—"May Our Lord invest thee with the garment of humility and love, so that, thus well-armed, thou canst withstand thy foes both spiritual and material."

He was then girt and a dagger fastened to the girdle, the Grand Prelate reciting in the meantime:—"May the Lord gird thee with a girdle of purity, so that the virtue of abstinence and innocence may remain for ever alive in thee." A sash and a sword were then presented to the Novice:—"May the Lord arm thee with the sword of the Holy Spirit, so that fully-armed thou mayest combat all the enemies of the Holy Temple!"

A red cord was then fastened round the Novice's neck with the words: "May the Lord illumine thee with the Light of His Truth, and may He bring thee to His Holy Mountain!", and the Grand Prelate completed the robing of the Novice, by throwing the Templar's white mantle over his shoulders:—"May the Lord be always merciful to thee, so that in a white garment of holiness justified by the Cross and Blood of Jesus Christ, having conquered thy enemies, visible and invisible, thou canst glorify the Lord and even attain the vision of God! May the Pre-eternal, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, bless and preserve thee. His Holy Name be blessed, world without end."

The Novice was bidden to kneel down, and prayers were softly said by all present; a lock of hair behind the Novice's right ear was then cut off by the Grand Prelate, and amid murmured prayers, with incense rising in great blue clouds towards the distant Mountain, a blessing was invoked:—"God, be bountiful and merciful to us, turn to us the Light of Thy Face, have mercy on us and give us Thy Peace!"

Raising the Holy Gospel, the Grand Prelate continued (in the words of the Revelation of St. John):—"And I saw a new Heaven and a new Earth. And there shall be no death, nor weeping, nor moaning, nor disease, for all that was formerly had passed away."

The chorus then sang:—"Clothed in garments snow-white, I am flying into the starry space"; whilst the new Knight surrounded by his companions returned to the Temple and was placed at the foot of the Sacrificial Altar. Before him stood the Grand Prefect now with a crown on his head, a golden chain of nine enamelled crosses round his neck, a large red enamelled cross on his breast, a sceptre in his hands. At the right of the Grand Prefect stood the Grand Almoner attired in a red ceremonial robe of ancient design, on his breast a golden cross, its centre representing in white enamel the Symbolic Lamb holding a banner with the inscription around it:—"Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi"; its reverse side—the Crucifixion and the Crown of Thorns.

The newly-installed Knight was greeted by the Grand Prefect:—"Worthy Knight! The Order of the Temple, once victim of pride, envy, avarice and treason, has not perished altogether. Faithful Knights are preserving its mysteries and rites. Now their numbers have been increased by one more warrior. I accept thee finally and for ever into the chain of union of the Ancient Order of the Temple, into that chain which never breaks."

The Banner of the Order was then inclined three times over the new Knight's head, and the ceremony ended.¹

Later an historical lecture was delivered for the benefit of the newly-installed Knight. He was instructed that the activities of the Templar Order were never interrupted, that deviations from its true aims had apparently happened during the times of the Order's opulence and thus brought about persecutions and downfall, but real ideals were being always followed by loyal Knights and carried out up to the present day. The Brotherly Union of Templar Knights, their exemplary discipline, their fearlessness, purity of life and high morals, intellectual development, all these noble qualities summed up in the vow to spread and to defend the Christian faith, were true ideals of the Order. The tragic death of the Grand Master of the Templar Order Jacques Molay,² was described as the martyrdom of a valiant knight, who preferred to suffer death rather than betray the sacred trust reposed in him by the Order. The link between the Templar Order and Freemasonry was thus impressed upon the new Knight, and a corresponding explanation of Masonic degrees was given. Allusions to Templar mysteries and history were dwelt upon. The letter J, depicted in Swedish Lodges in Russia on a column, was explained as meaning Jacobus; the letter B, depicted on another column, as meaning Burgundius; the letter M, depicted on a coffin, as a completion of the two first letters, the import of them all being Jacobus Burgundius Molay, the Grand Master Martyr. Three blows which were said to have brought a Builder to his grave, were explained as symbolising envy, anger and greed, the real causes of the persecution sustained by the Templar Order; three knocks in the Lodge were allusions to the three vows of the ancient Knights Templars, namely,—obedience, chastity and poverty. The letter G of "the Flaming Star" not only signified God but also meant the Swedish word *Galga* or Gallows, thus reminding the Candidate of the martyrdom of ancient Knights. Other symbols of the degree just passed by the newly-installed Knight were also explained.³

After the above lecture, a charge was given to the new member of the "perfect chain,"⁴ exhorting him ever to strive to attain "the highest enlightenment through faithful observance of all instructions transmitted orally by elder Brethren to Novices," and to arrive "even at the summit of ecstasy and to holy communion with the world of Spirits of Light." He was further reminded of the duty which those who are enlightened owe to the profane world. The number of the chosen may be small, but this should not dismay their hearts; let them fulfil unflinchingly their duty—to lead the world to Light and Beatitude, the ultimate plan of the Creator.

I think one can fitly conclude this short sketch of a ceremony in which are embodied some of the aims and ideals of Swedish Masons in Russia in the eighteenth century with a quotation from a Russian Masonic discourse well illustrating the general tendency of Russian Freemasonry in those days:—"From their very entrance into the Order, Masons are taught to attain the knowledge of the Invisible through things visible, and of the Spiritual through things material."

¹ A certificate on parchment was later delivered to the new Knight, sealed with the seal of Russian Directory. This seal was described in the above-mentioned Swedish Instruction, namely:—"We give to Our dear Directory by Us established as coat of arms a silver eagle on a red field, sitting on a mosaic floor of sand and silver." The eagle is holding the coat of arms of the Holy Order, that is, a red Cross on a silver field; behind this a shield and a green palm branch. Over the eagle, among shining rays is a golden triangle with the All-seeing Eye. Around is the inscription:—Sigill. Dir. Capitulator. S. O. T. H. in Imp. Russ. inst. A° MDCCLXXX. See *The Chapter Phoenix*, 42.

² Jacques Bernhard Molay, born in 1243; burnt in Paris in 1313.

³ The Lamp on the Altar—the Holy Gospel; Angel, Lion, Bull and Eagle—the four Evangelists; twelve flames—twelve Apostles, etc.

⁴ *The Chapter Phoenix*, 35-36.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Telepneff on the proposition of Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills, seconded by Bro. John Stokes. Comments were also offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, A. Heiron, E. H. Dring, B. Ivanoff, W. C. Birkin Mullett, G. P. Gambs, and A. Soldatenkoff.

Bro. SOLDATENKOFF communicated the text of "A Summons addressed to a Knight of the East on the occasion of his being raised to the highest degree":—

"We, N.N., Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of the East & Jerusalem and also Prefect of the said Order—to worthy Brother Knight of the East & Jerusalem, N.N.—

WELCOME!

The worthy conduct and exemplary life, the irreproachable ardour which you have shown and have proved on every occasion—these are the reasons, which stimulate us to summon you to-day to accomplish a higher work and to receive the knowledge of our origin.

The special value ascribed to your person, as well as your excellent qualities, will only increase the unbreakable ties of friendship, which we have concluded with you, and will bind for ever your fate with ours and with that of each Brother.

Under the seal of the one and same oath, which pledges us to keep secret the mysteries of the Order of the Knights of the East and Jerusalem, we address you this letter under the condition that you will keep it secret from all the Brethren Knights of the East & Jerusalem and have it burnt in due time, for it is at present a sad witness of our unfortunate fate.

On the strength of such pledge we commend you, Brother Knight N.N., to be present on . . . day of the month of . . . in the year of grace of our Lord . . . at . . . hour in the antechamber of the Order, taking into consideration that what follows:—

1. You have to wear a yellow leather or cloth jacket, top boots with spurs, be armed with a sword and adorned with the ribbon of the Order of the Knights of the East & Jerusalem.
2. You have to hold a certificate of your genealogical tree to prove the nobility of your birth.
3. You have to elect two Sponsors-Warrantors among the Officers of the Order.

With a feeling of brotherly love we express to you our wishes of sublime happiness and success in all your undertakings. We pray the G.A. of the U. that He may accept you, Brother Knight N.N., under His holy and great protection.

Given in the Chapter of the Great Order on the . . . day of the month of . . . in the year of grace of our Lord . . .

(signed) N.N., Grand Master.

N.N., Secretary of the Order."

Bro. E. P. GAMBS said:—

It would be difficult to add many observations to those already so ably made about Bro. Telepneff's most interesting paper on Swedish Freemasonry in Russia. I will therefore only allow myself to draw your attention to the similarity between the ideals of Russian Freemasons in the eighteenth century and those of present-day Freemasons. We have just heard that Swedish Freemasonry in Russia took the form of an organisation whose object was to defend by moral training and principles, religion, law, and order, against atheistic and radical ideas prevalent at that time all over Europe. Is it not

much the same now in all countries except those dominated by the Grand Orient? Surely Freemasonry as a whole has with success defeated all attempts of subversive elements to destroy the Church and existing order of society. The difference that strikes us is the fear by the Russian Government of the day that Freemasonry might become a source of danger, and the benevolent attitude of other Governments towards our Order. In spite, however, of the strict measures taken in Russia against the Order, the ideals which inspired its members lived on into the nineteenth century and beyond. The Great Provincial Lodge of the Swedish Order was officially dissolved in 1822, but its members formed rules and regulations designed to keep the Order alive, and secret meetings of trusted friends continued up to the sixties of the nineteenth century. King Gustav's dreams of uniting the Northern Nobility in an attempt to defend high moral ideals against what he believed to be 'the Devil's onslaught' were certainly not realized to the full; but for many years all that was best and most enlightened in Russia found in Swedish Freemasonry a source of strength and hope for a better future. The historical Palace of I. A. Pozdeeff on the outskirts of Moscow was the secret meeting place of these stalwarts of Masonic thought. Here many a time brethren from all parts of Russia gathered in a specially built hall hidden from the sight of all intruders. Even after 1828, when the whole of the valuable library, correspondence and collection of Masonic emblems and decorations were removed by the Government to St. Petersburg, these meetings were continued. Records of speeches made by Brethren at that time show that their spirit remained the same. Their ideals of fighting the evil outside and inside of oneself, the mounting of the Mystic Ladder and the chain uniting the material with the spiritual world, remained the same as before. May I as a Russian who has been privileged to be admitted to English Freemasonry, and who has witnessed and learned the high moral principles of our Order, express in conclusion the hope that these ideals will one day prevail and triumph in that part of the world which was once the Great Russian Empire and where our forefathers laid the foundations, never to be destroyed, of a real Masonic Brotherhood.

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

We have heard to-day an exceedingly interesting paper which not only gives us a clear idea about the Swedish Masonic system but also answers a question which might have arisen in the minds of those who carefully read Bro. Telepneff's previous works on Russian Freemasonry—the question as to how it was possible that true Russian patriots, of whom many occupied high positions at Russian Imperial Court, could affiliate themselves with an organisation implying a certain subordination to a foreign Sovereign.

From the paper read to-day we see that the Swedish Masonic system was in the eighteenth century highly aristocratic, purely Christian, based on high moral principles, and presented in refined and sumptuous rituals. All this exactly answered the tastes and requirements of the Russian aristocracy of those days. On the other hand, we have seen that the dependence on the members of the Swedish Royal family was strictly limited to Masonic matters only, it having been definitely foreseen in the obligation that it should in no way interfere with the obedience and loyalty owed to the Sovereign, the Authorities and the Church of the native country. Under these conditions it was quite natural that many members of the Russian aristocracy joined this system without any scruple or hesitation.

There was another feature in the Swedish Masonic system which, in my opinion, must have appealed greatly to the minds of the enlightened Russians of those days. I mean the directions regarding the external struggle with atheistic and radical ideas, the popularity and influence of which in Russia was just then

becoming quite alarming to everyone who saw the future of his country in the spiritual development of its people.

We know how energetically this struggle was conducted by the contemporary Moscow Rosicrucians. It would be interesting to know what was done in this respect by the Russian Masons belonging to the Swedish system, in accordance with the instructions of their superiors. Bro. Telepneff does not say anything about it in his paper. Perhaps he would find it possible to say a few words to this effect in his reply.

Bro. Telepneff's paper, although concise, embraces the subject so fully that there is hardly anything of importance which could be added to it. But perhaps the following two documents not quoted in Bro. Telepneff's paper may be of some interest as a supplement to his work.

The first is an example of a letter of introduction to be given to a Knight of the Temple, the translation of which is as follows:—

+

“To the glory of God Almighty, thrice Great Architect of the Universe.

+ + +

To all brethren, scattered over the Globe, elected, enlightened, knowing the secret of the Royal Art.

+ Health + unity + beatitude.

+ We, the Grand Master, of the number of the chosen, being aware of the high knowledge of brother-masons belonging to the Company N.N. in the East of the town N.N., by the right and power in Us vested, give this letter of approbation to Bro. N.N. for communication to the brethren who know the sanctified number three. Through zeal, courage, steadiness and candour he has obtained the entrance to the inner Temple of King Solomon and the honourable, glorious title of Brother Elect of King Solomon. We wish him every felicity and success in all his undertakings, committing him to the protection of God Almighty.

Given on the Heights of the East on . . . day of . . ., year A.D. . . .
In town . . .

Signatures of the Grand Master, the Chancellor, and the Secretary.”

The second document refers to some jewels, aprons and ribbons of the Swedish System and contains the following information:—

1. Apprentices wear in their buttonhole an unpolished silver trowel suspended by a white leather strap. Their aprons are of white leather.
2. Fellow-craftsmen wear a polished silver trowel suspended by a white ribbon. Their aprons are of white leather edged with white ribbons and decorated with three white ribbon rosettes.
3. Masters wear a collar of a colour adopted by the Lodge. At the end of the collar an ivory key is suspended. Aprons are of white leather edged with ribbons and decorated with rosettes of the same colour as the collar.
4. Brethren advanced into Scottish Lodges wear across their breasts, from the left shoulder to the right side, black ribbons with white stripes. A poniard is suspended from the ribbon. In addition, they wear a collar narrower than the ribbon across, with an artificial skull suspended from it. Their aprons are of black leather decorated with white ribbons and four white rosettes. On the flap of the apron a skull is embroidered in silver.
5. Scottish Masters wear across their breasts from the right shoulder to the left side a broad red ribbon edged with green. A six-pointed star with the letter ‘G’ in the centre is suspended from it. They also wear a green collar with a St. Andrew's cross suspended from it. Their aprons are of white leather lined and edged with red silk. In the middle of the apron there is a six-pointed star with the letter ‘G’ in the centre. All the ornaments are of gold.

6. Steward Brethren wear a green ribbon from the right shoulder to the left side. The ribbon is decorated with five red rosettes and a golden key is suspended from it.

Commanders or Chiefs of the Order of Freemasons wear an additional toothed red collar from which a red enamelled cross is suspended with the letter 'B' in the centre. Their aprons are plain white."

Bro. B. TELEPNEFF writes, in reply.—

In the first place I wish to thank Bro. Gordon Hills, who in an admirable manner read my paper for me in Lodge, and also those Brethren who so kindly commented upon it.

I am grateful to Bro. Ivanoff and Bro. Soldatenkoff for bringing to notice two very valuable additional documents, and I highly appreciate the eloquent contribution of Bro. Gambs.

So far, I have not been able to discover any traces of organized activities of Russian Masons belonging to Swedish Lodges outside the precincts of the Masonic Temples. It was evidently left to the discretion of the Brethren themselves how to carry into their lives the plans and ideals of their Lodges, according to their individual opportunities. This perhaps was the best way, for undoubtedly the ennobling and enlightening influence of Swedish Masonry in Russia was deep and lasting.



REVIEW.

No. 4. *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOMERSET HOUSE AND INVERNESS LODGE, ACTING BY IMMEMORIAL CONSTITUTION.* By the Rev. Arnold Whitaker Oxford, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., 33°, Chaplain to the Supreme Council of England, Wales, &c. London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd. 1928.



HIS book has been written to give the members of No. 4 some account of their Lodge. It has therefore been thrown into a form quite different from what it would have been if it had been intended for the general reader. It is hoped, however, that the book may be found interesting and perhaps even useful to the student of masonic history."

These are the introductory words to a book which will *certainly* be of great interest and value to students of Masonic history; though surely the author does not intend to suggest that these are only to be found outside the membership of the Lodge!

The history of No. 4 was long overdue, and Bro. Oxford tells us that he had the intention of writing it over thirty years ago. The Lodge is one of the 'Four Old Lodges' whose members assisted in the formation of Grand Lodge in 1716-17, the two others still in existence being Antiquity No. 2, and Fortitude and Old Cumberland No. 12. The history of this last is available at present only in the form of a short paper printed in 1880.

When No. 4 was first started is unknown. Bro. Oxford accepts the evidence contained in the Engraved List of Lodges of 1729, wherein dates of Constitution are for the first time recorded. The first Lodge in that list is the present Antiquity which is dated as of 1691. It will be remembered that this is also the date of Aubrey's well-known Memorandum, but this may be a mere coincidence. The second Lodge is stated in the List to have been constituted in 1712. The third Lodge is the present No. 4 which is undated; but it seems fair to assume that it started after 1712, and certainly before the organization of Grand Lodge in 1716-17.

The earliest existing List of its Members shews that in 1723 it was composed of what may almost be called "Great Kings, Dukes, and Lords," while the three others of the 'Four Old Lodges' consisted of—not necessarily operative masons—but what appear to be brethren of a lower social class, and without a title amongst them. In numbers too No. 4 far outstripped the others all put together. With such a numerical and social strength it seems curious that the meeting for the formation of Grand Lodge should not have been held at its own home at Westminster. It may be suggested that it was a long way from the City to Westminster, and that Covent Garden was more central for all. But the next meeting, when the first Grand Master was elected, was held in St. Paul's Churchyard, which would certainly be very inconvenient for the members of No. 4. May it have been that because of their apathy or poor attendance, "Anthony Sayer, Gentleman," of the Lodge in Covent Garden, was

elected as Grand Master, and not one of their own Members? Possibly Bro. Oxford would not agree with this, for he says, "However we look at the matter, it seems as if No. 4 Lodge was the main factor in establishing freemasonry as it exists to-day, though the idea of a Grand Lodge may have been borrowed from York." Perhaps the point is not of much historical importance, but Bro. Oxford's final hypothesis needs correction, for the old Lodge at York, though in existence as early as 1705, did not assume the title of *Grand* until 1726, having by then evidently heard of and copied the nomenclature of the London organization.

Bro. Oxford says truly that "most of Anderson's history is didactic fiction, and must have been recognized as such when it was first published"; but even so he seems to have accepted more of Anderson's statements than are now taken as fact. In particular his appointment as Grand Warden in 1723 is very much open to doubt, having in mind his known tampering with the Minute Book of Grand Lodge.

We may also now discard the theories that Desaguliers "was responsible for introducing the new or symbolic system of freemasonry in London into the operative Lodges of Scotland." The reports of the visits of Desaguliers to Edinburgh in 1721 and 1722 do not bear that construction, though they do shew that the visitor was able to prove himself a Mason to the satisfaction of the Brethren there. We may reasonably suppose that the same process was necessary with Ashmole, who, made a Mason in the North of England in 1646, would need to prove himself as such when he visited the Lodge in London thirty-five years later. We have plenty of evidence that non-operatives had for long been admitted into Scottish Lodges, and the earliest known admission of a non-operative on English soil was by a Scottish Lodge. But there is no evidence that at any particular time, or in any particular place, Desaguliers or anyone else started a new freemasonry apart from the operative practice, by creating a symbolic system. There certainly has been an elaboration of ritual and ceremonial, but that has been by a gradual process of evolution and not by the deliberate action of any man or body of men. We may therefore put on one side statements to the effect "that Payne, Anderson and Desaguliers were the inventors of the modern system of masonry," unless by "system" the Grand Lodge organization is intended. Even then we may strike out the name of Anderson from the trio, as it is fairly certain that his services did not extend beyond the compilation of his Book of Constitutions. Desaguliers (by the way the printer makes out that he was born in 1783, not 1683) certainly did make some alterations at a somewhat later date. In 1730 he "recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge" which were adopted, and these "alterations in the established forms" were the primary cause of the movement which ultimately resulted in the non-recognition of the premier Grand Lodge by all Lodges in the world except those of its own creation. All this however is another story, and has no connexion with No. 4 except that Payne, Anderson and Desaguliers were included amongst its members.

An interesting feature of this book is the addition of very useful biographical notes of its members. Bro. Oxford is not satisfied that enough has been done in this direction, but readers will certainly be grateful to him for much valuable information. The only grumble I feel inclined to make is that it is not always easy to find the information which is recorded. We are told that "Any account of brethren is entered under their names in the Grand Lodge lists. Where the names are not in the lists the account is given in notes to the Lodge minutes where they are first mentioned." But there are several Grand Lodge lists (sometimes called "Chapter xii." and sometimes "Appendix A"), and of course the arrangement in them is chronological and not alphabetical, while an *Index fratrum ædis* which gives a very useful list of all members in alphabetical order, with dates of their admission, is unfortunately not furnished with page references. It is therefore not easy to find where the names first occur, and a more precise reference, either forwards or backwards, would have been of very

great assistance. The *Index rerum ædis* could not be expected to help in this matter, and in fact it is otherwise quite inadequate for a book of such importance.

The names of three members of the Lodge may particularly be mentioned, because, so far as I am aware, the dates of their admission into the Craft have hitherto been sought for in vain. The first is the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, whose name can be found on page 16. There we have an announcement from the *London Evening Post* of 17 March 1730, which gives the information that "on Monday night last" Ramsay and five others were "admitted members of the ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons" at the Horn Lodge.

The second is Admiral Sir William Sydney Smith, who received the three degrees at a special meeting of the Lodge on 17 April 1790. We are told that "only seven members were present, all being Past Grand Officers." This brother has sometimes been confused with Sir Christopher Sydney Smith, who was elected to membership of the Grand Master's Lodge in 1829.

The third brother is the Rev. Samuel Hemming, D.D., whose name does not appear in the Index because the Secretary persisted in describing him as the Rev. John Hemings, notwithstanding that he wrote his name correctly in the Attendance Book. He was initiated on 14 February 1803, and in 1805 he joined the Lodge of Harmony, which had been Dunckerley's Lodge at the Toy Inn, Hampton Court. Bro. Oxford's note on page 277, records the fact that Hemming was appointed by the Duke of Sussex as Master of the Lodge of Reconciliation, but I am not able to understand his further enigmatical remarks, though it is possible that they may have been culled from the writings of that delightful old romancist Dr. George Oliver.

Now as to the Lodge itself. I have said that it was one of the 'Four Old Lodges' which formed Grand Lodge in 1716-17. In 1747 it was erased from the Roll of Grand Lodge for contumacy; but seems to have maintained an independent existence. In 1751 it was re-instated in its former position as a mark of respect to George Payne and other past Grand Masters. In 1774 it absorbed, or perhaps more truly was absorbed by, the Somerset House Lodge, a creation of Thomas Dunckerley. In 1828 it amalgamated with the Royal Inverness Lodge, and from these two Lodges it obtained its present name of Royal Somerset House and Inverness. It is evident then that a history of *three* Lodges is necessary in order to understand the position of No. 4, and this Bro. Oxford has endeavoured to provide.

The task has not been easy, for no Lodge records have been preserved of a date earlier than 1783, by which time it had become known as the Somerset House Lodge. But Bro. Oxford has searched the Books of Grand Lodge, the official Lists of Lodges, the Minute Books of other private Lodges, and the newspapers of the period, and out of such scanty material has compiled a very excellent account of the Lodge at the Horn, the inevitable gaps being such as may perchance be filled more completely as new material comes to light.

The Somerset House Lodge was originally formed by Dunckerley in 1762 on board H.M.S. Prince at Plymouth. Two years afterwards it was transferred to the Guadaloupe, meeting later in Dunckerley's private apartments in Somerset House until his removal to Hampton Court. An unpleasant episode occurred in 1767 when Dunckerley and his friends obtained control of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3, though each Lodge retained a separate existence. Then seven years later the Somerset House Lodge spread its tentacles again and seized No. 4, putting its own name in the place which until then had been occupied by the Old Horn. Bro. Oxford says that "there is at least a suspicion that a peaceful penetration and a quiet dispatch of objectors may have preceded the amalgamation."

The Royal Inverness Lodge was a much later creation, being in fact the first Lodge warranted after the Union. It was formed from the Officers of the Loyal North Briton Volunteer Corps, but from the start it failed to receive the

support of its members. On two occasions when the Grand Master dined with the Lodge they could only muster an attendance of seven. Then too there was serious trouble about the finances. Even founders refused to pay their fees. Simon McGillivray, by whose instrumentality the Lodge was formed, cleared off the debts in 1824 by a payment of £70, and for a while there was an improvement in membership. Within two years however it was reported that about £360 was owing to the Argyll Rooms where they dined, the arrears of subscriptions were £300, and a brother who had acted for the Treasurer owed about £100. Letters were sent to the defaulters urging them to pay their dues, but none of them either paid or attended, and in April 1828 came the suggestion of a Union "with a distinguished and eminent Lodge," which, after some awkward negotiation, was effected in the following year.

I have mentioned that no Lodge records are known to exist before 1783; and there is also a nasty gap between 1818 and 1825; but from the Minutes available we are able to get a good idea of the manners and customs of the members, and can compare them with those of other Lodges of the same period.

The usual practice seems to have been to propose a Candidate at one meeting, to ballot for him at the next, and at the third meeting to admit him to the first and second degrees. These degrees were not conferred as one, but a Lodge in the second degree was opened for the purpose of passing him. The third degree was worked at irregular intervals. On one occasion it was "resolved that a Master's Lodge be held at the next meeting at 2 o'clock and that such brethren as have not been raised have notice to attend accordingly." On another occasion twenty-two Candidates took the degree. On 17 December 1798 two brethren "rec^d. the Obligⁿ. M.M." without going through any ceremony. Very rarely we find instances of the second and third degrees being conferred on a Candidate on one evening, and in cases of emergency all three were so conferred. Blackballing was sometimes resorted to, and we gather that a Candidate was generally turned down, or his election deferred, if his sponsors did not attend to support the candidature. But beyond this we can tell that the members were very particular in making proper enquiries in regard to Candidates whether for initiation or joining, and did not hesitate to refuse admission if reports were unfavourable. The Master generally retained his office for a number of years, by annual election, although the voting was seldom unanimous. At the earliest recorded date the Master of Ceremonies was called Gold Stick. Deacons were not appointed until just before the Union.

The procedure with regard to Dinner is not always clear. By a resolution passed on 23 March, 1812, and embodied in the By Laws in force immediately before and after 23 May 1814, it was laid down that the Lodge was to be opened at 3 o'clock precisely, and immediately proceed to ceremonial work. Then it was to be closed, and opened again at half past eight for reading the Minutes, Ballotting for Candidates, Lectures, and other business. This meant that the brethren dined during the interval, and from January 1813 onwards the Minutes state that "the brethren retired to dinner." The By Laws of 1783 contain no reference to Dinner, but say that the Lodge is to assemble at Seven o'clock in the evening precisely. This however seems to imply that Refreshment preceded Labour; and a resolution of 23 January 1792 says plainly "that the Lodge do meet and dine at Five o'clock precisely, and proceed to the Duties of Masonry at Seven o'clock precisely." The landlord of the Tavern was to pay a Guinea to the Fund of Charity if dinner was late. Further light on their customs can be gathered from the Minutes of a meeting on 27 February 1815. It was found that the Wine had been removed from the Table on the opening of the Lodge, and it was decided that "the ancient and accustomed course of this Lodge shall be followed, and that the Wine should be brought back to the Table."

Then we may ask—at what part of the evening was the Musical portion of the programme introduced? For the Lodge "seems to have resolved itself into a glee club, and sung glees and madrigals, many volumes of which are still

in the possession of the Lodge. Many celebrated musicians were honorary members of the Lodge, paying no fees, even for initiation, and of course no subscriptions." I suggest that this singing took place after the Lodge was closed for the second time, and with the Wine still on the Table. Bro. Oxford says that they "supped when business was over," but I see no suggestion of this in the *précis* of the Minutes which he has printed. There may be some distinction between dinner and supper, which is made clear in the full Minutes. Bro. Oxford mentions that Beaumont (Secretary of the Lodge from 1857 to 1865) says in a letter that "in Willett's time a good deal of the ritual was rendered musically." But Beaumont's recollection could not go back farther than his initiation in 1855, and Willett died in 1857.

The financial position of the Lodge seems to have been at times as bad as that of the Inverness Lodge. Subscriptions were allowed to fall into arrear, and were classed by the Audit Committee as *good*, *dubious*, and *very dubious*, or *good*, *dubious*, and *desperate*. In 1783 it was agreed that "a proper person should be deputed to wait on the several Brethren in Arrear, and to be allowed one shilling in the Pound on the Money to be received." The members were always willing to deal sympathetically with the brother who sent a "polite letter" and offered to pay some portion of his debt and then resign; but he who "wrote an insolent letter in answer to an Application for his Arrears," was by unanimous resolution "expelled the Lodge." In 1815 the subscriptions in arrear amounted to £977 0. 6.

Mention is made from time to time of "a lecture" or "an excellent lecture" given by the Master. With one exception this was in the First Degree, and it is to be assumed that it took the form of a Charge to the recently-admitted brethren, and was not in the nature of a catechetical examination.

There is no direct reference in the Minutes to the work of the Lodge of Promulgation, but one of its recommendations may have led the Master on 8 February 1813 to inform the brethren "that he considered it proper to appoint Deacons to assist the Wardens," and to appoint them accordingly. The only mention of the Union is in the Minutes of 20 December 1813, when "The Communication from the Grand Secretary with the Articles of Union were laid before the Lodge." Another communication, referring to new Clothing, fees, &c., came before the Lodge on 25 April 1814. Of the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation there is no mention, but it is possible that its work accounts for the statement in December 1814 that "The Ceremony of Initiation was gone through for the Edification of the Brethren." It would have been useful if the names of Visitors at that meeting had been furnished.

Bro. Oxford has compressed the history for the past one hundred years into about sixteen pages; not apparently because there was anything which it was desirable to hide, but because in his opinion there was nothing of importance to reveal. Many readers, even among his fellow-members, will regret his decision, although undoubtedly the account of the eighteenth century proceedings is by far the most interesting. The record of Visitors (unfortunately not separately listed) is particularly valuable, and historians of other old Lodges will search carefully for something whereby they may be enabled to bridge gaps in their own records. A pathetic but pleasant entry of a Visitor on 14 December 1789 is:—"Preston. Restored last Quarterly Comm." There is no doubt that Preston had been treated very badly by some brethren who were members of No. 4. The Master at the date of this visit had been one of his bitterest opponents. The circular letter from Grand Lodge announcing Preston's reinstatement was dated 25 November 1789.

Bro. Oxford is to be congratulated on the result of his labours, and the manner in which he has been able to overcome difficulties due to lack of material at the most interesting period in the history of the Lodge. His membership of the Lodge commenced in 1887. In 1890 he served as Grand Steward. In 1891 he was Master of the Lodge. In 1900 he was appointed to the rank of Past

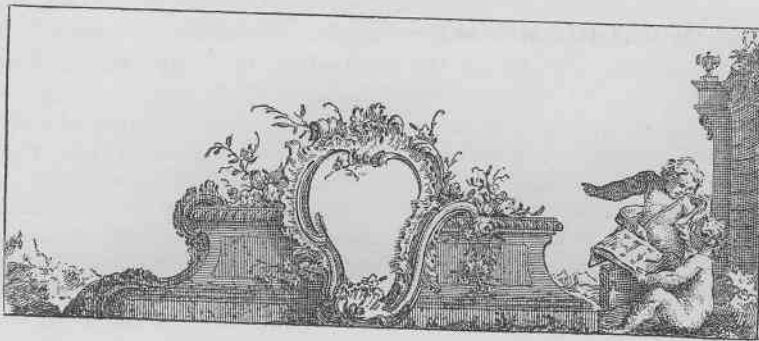
Grand Deacon of the Grand Lodge of England. As I write these notes I hear of his promotion to the rank of Past Grand Chaplain, an honour which will certainly bring him still more congratulations.

I commenced with a quotation from the preface to Bro. Oxford's very excellent book. I cannot do better than end with his final sentences, for they admit of no cavil or captious criticism.

"Too self-centred, masonry may be strangled by its own benevolent institutions. Too often the refuge of ambitious mediocrity, too often regarded, though perhaps unconsciously, as an end in itself, self-subsisting and self-containing, it may slowly decay. But masonry was made for man, and not man for masonry, and the order will live so long as it serves its purpose. There need be no fear for our lodge or for the order itself if only we remember that our object is to give and not to get, and cling firmly to our fundamental principles of service, goodwill, and peace. Nothing can harm masonry or its lodges so long as its members strive above all else 'to know the truth, to do the right, to love the good.'"

April, 1928.

W. J. SONGHURST.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

William Archbald, of Rangoon, on 26th May, 1926. He was President of the Dis.B.G.P., and had held office as G.O. in the District Grand Chapter of Burmah. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1912.

Major **Anthony William Maunsell Atthill**, M.V.O., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., of Bushey, Herts., in 1926. Bro. Atthill was a member of the Naval and Military Lodge No. 3678, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1907.

Thomas Barclay, of Jarrow-on-Tyne, in April, 1926. Our Brother was a P.M. of St. Paul's Lodge No. 3242, and a member of the St. Bede Chapter No. 1119. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Charles Henry Darby, of West Bromwich, on 3rd May, 1926. Bro. Darby was P.M. of the Dartmouth Lodge No. 662, and Sc.N. of Godson Chapter No. 2385. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1915.

Joseph Goldblum, of Zastron, O.F.S., on 21st June, 1926. He was I.G. of Mimosa Lodge No. 4396, and a member of the Milner Chapter No. 2089. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

George Ernest Gregory, of London, on 15th June, 1926. Our Brother was a member of the Cannon Lodge No. 1539, and was elected to our Correspondence Circle in January, 1900.

James Robert Howard Inkster, of London, on 1st January, 1926. Bro. Inkster was a member of the Justinian Lodge No. 2694, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1916.

Frank H. Johnson, of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1926. He was P.M. of Lodge No. 400, and held the office of Grand Treasurer in the Royal Arch. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

The Hon. **May Oung**, M.A., LL.M., of Rangoon, in 1926. Our Brother was a member of the Victoria in Burma Lodge No. 832 and of the R.A. Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in 1923.

James Jarvis Rainey, of Spilsby, Lincolnshire, on 6th March, 1925. Bro. Rainey was a member of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 426 and of the Grosvenor Chapter No. 721. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1890.

John Russell, of Eastbourne, on 23rd April, 1926. He was a member of L.R., a P.M. of the Britannic Lodge No. 33, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

George Henry Ryde, of Chesterfield, on 11th March, 1926. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Scarsdale Lodge No. 681 and A.So. of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Sidney Sanderson, of Eastbourne, in March, 1926. Bro. Sanderson was a member of the West Kent Lodge No. 1297 and of the Hartington Chapter No. 916. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1909.

Thomas Henry Sawyers, of Wolverhampton, on 22nd March, 1926. He had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of the Athol Chapter No. 74. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

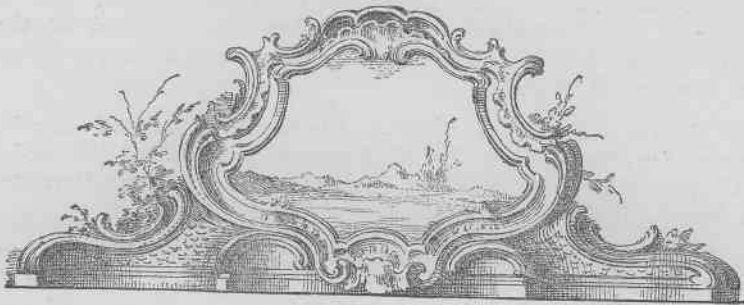
Francis George Swinden, of Birmingham, on 14th April, 1926. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.), and was for many years Pr.G.Sec. of Warwickshire. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1893, and acted as our Local Secretary in his Province.

Roberts Ogden Whiteley, of Manningham, Yorkshire, in 1926. Bro. Whiteley attained the rank of P.Pr.G.So. (Cumb. & West.), and was a P.M. of Underley Lodge No. 1074. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

Harry Edward Whitney, of Faribault, Minn., in 1926. He was a P.M. of Lodge No. 9, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1908.

William Fountain Woods, J.P., of London, in 1926. Our Brother was a member of L.R., and P.Z. of Moira Chapter No. 92. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1900.

John William Woodthorpe, F.C.A., of Lingfield, on 14th November, 1925. Bro. Woodthorpe was a member of L.R., and had served the office of G.Stew. He was P.Z. of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Chapter No. 4, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1895.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

W. J. SONGHURST, *F.C.I.S.*, P.G.D.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON W.C.2

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➤: Ars :➤ Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.

VOLUME XXXIX.—PART 3.

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W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.

1928.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The Transactions of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed Transactions of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the Transactions previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—By the payment in one sum of Twelve years' Subscription in advance, i.e., six guineas, individual Brethren may qualify as Life Members of the Correspondence Circle. Corporate Bodies may qualify as Life Members by a similar payment of Twenty-five years' Subscription. Expulsion from the Craft naturally entails a forfeiture of Membership in the Correspondence Circle, and the Lodge also reserves to itself the full power of excluding any Correspondence Member whom it may deem to be Masonically (or otherwise) unworthy of continued membership.

FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1926.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. John Stokes, P.G.D., W.M.; W. W. Covey-Crump, S.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.D.; G. W. Daynes, I.G.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. Sir A. B. Brooke-Pechell, D. Forbes, Chas. Curd, P.G.St.B., Rev. C. B. Shann, G. W. South, F. J. Asbury, A.G.D.C., Douglas Knoop, Chas. H. Perram, P.G.D., R. C. Rann, W. R. Hornby-Steer, E. S. Abrahams, Ivor Grantham, Thos. M. Carter, Geo. W. Bullamore, J. Walter Hobbs, W. J. G. Gun, G. E. W. Bridge, Chas. Ross, Wm. C. Prime, W. J. Williams, A. Heiron, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Geo. Simpson, F. Wybrew, B. Telepneff, A. E. Gurney, F. J. Dennant, F. M. Shaw, F. S. Henwood, W. L. Rind, F. Bare, F. Lace, L. G. Wearing, E. Warburton, C. W. de Roemer, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., E. E. Sharp, J. Gaskill, R. J. Sadlier, R. Wheatley, A. E. Wynter, W. Emerson, F. T. Cramphorn, Wallace Heaton, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.Pt., Wm. Lewis, A. D. Bowl, C. F. Sykes, H. Johnson, J. Goldberg, F. Houghton, W. Wise, A. N. Tyte, G. A. Crocker, Geo. A. Hoskins, Jos. T. Whitehead, H. I. Summers, G. Pear, L. Sykes, H. A. Matheson, R. R. Moor, and A. Y. Mayell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. G. Q. Bridge, Isaac Newton University Lodge No. 859; S. W. Drinkwater, W.M., Cordwainer Ward Lodge No. 2241; Preston W. Orem, P.M., Colonial Lodge No. 631 (Penn. C.); A. H. Wood, Honor Oak Lodge No. 1986; Joseph Wolff, P.M., Jonkheer Lodge No. 865 (N.Y. C.); J. R. Dadds, Ionic Lodge No. 227; Stanley Dryden, P.M., Hope Lodge No. 4 (Tasmania C.); G. R. Clements, Clissold Lodge No. 2551; C. F. Clisby, Merton Lodge No. 2790; A. G. Barnes, J.D., Emblematic Lodge No. 1321; and H. Steer, Kentish Lodge No. 3021.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. H. Poole, S.D.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, I.P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C.,

J.W.; Gordon G. P. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

ERNEST WILLIAM MALPAS WONNACOTT was born at Malta in 1866, and died in London on 8th July, 1926. He was educated as an architect and attended the Royal Academy School. His student career was most successful, culminating in the Godwin Bursary, which enabled him to widen his knowledge by foreign travel. He obtained the A.R.I.B.A. and the F.S.I. in 1891, and from that time onward he practised as an architect in London. He did a great deal of valuable work as a member of many committees, especially on that for the Survey of Memorials of Greater London.

He became a member of the Craft in 1902 and was also a Royal Arch Mason as well of many other degrees. He joined the Quatuor Coronati Lodge as one of the Outer Circle in 1904, became one of the Inner Circle in 1911, and was Master in 1915.

In 1920 he became Assistant Librarian of the Grand Lodge and was appointed Librarian in 1923. He had been A.G.Supt. of Works in 1918.

He has now reached the golden mountain tops where dwell the Spirits of the Dawn.

His chief works were given at the meetings of the Q.C. Lodge. The most interesting probably are:—*The Lodge of Reconciliation 1813-1816*, A.Q.C. xxiii., which cleared up a lot of misconceived ideas and exploded a quantity of misplaced theories; *Henry Yvele, the King's Master Mason*, A.Q.C. xxi., a delightful study of fourteenth century workmen; *The Country Stewards' Lodge and the Green Apron*, A.Q.C. xxix.; *The Rite of Seven Degrees in England* probably the most original and valuable contribution that Bro. Wonnacott made. In it he opened out an entirely new field for research which it is to be hoped will be followed up.

(For complete list of Bro. Wonnacott's Masonic degrees see A.Q.C., vol. xxviii., p. 209).

His literary activities spread over a wide field and were always written in the true historical spirit. With his invariable sanity of mind he never bowed to the idols of the market place, nor did he allow his enthusiasm to override his intelligent judgement. He recognized that if there is one thing worse than cramming facts it is cramming opinions. He was a delightful companion, the crosslights that he cast upon the topics of conversation always lifted it to a higher plane, and in discussion his acute intellect brought out and illuminated the salient points, for he was one of those gifted mortals with a capacity of seeing both sides of a question. Like his writings, his conversation flowed on in a quiet current, never breaking into foam or fury, but vigorous and invariably lucid.

In his work as Librarian of the Grand Lodge he found his real bent in life. He gave there of his best. He scorned delights and lived laborious days and yet had time to listen to the many visitors who wanted to know something about the treasures over which he presided, and he always made time to answer and assist his fellow workers. The writer of this notice has gratefully to acknowledge his indebtedness to the ripe judgment and courtesy of Bro. Wonnacott, in common with hundreds of workers in Masonic research. He is

dead, but his memory will live in the minds of all those who think with him that "It is incumbent on us all to unite in the common aim of promoting the study of history and archaeology connected with Masonry . . . by throwing light into the dark places and revealing the truth above everything else."

Bro. Rev. Walter William Covey-Crump was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

One Lodge and Forty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. W. T. COXHILL, Oxford.

SOUP PLATE, made between 1814 and 1832, for the Alfred Lodge No. 649, now No. 340. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES, Norwich.

Wax Impressions of six SEALS for Craft, Royal Arch, Royal Ark Mariners, and Knights Templar, under the Lodge of Patience No. 166 (Antients) of 1770, and the Lodge of Perseverance No. 294 (Antients) of 1795. See Le Strange, *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk*, pp. 168, 180-1. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. A. J. THORPE, Brazil.

APRON, leather, about 11½ inches square, with lower corners rounded. Printed design. On flap, an eye within a triangle and circle irradiated. On the body, a Square and Compasses surmounted by the letter G in a five-pointed flaming star. The whole surrounded by a sprig of mimosa. The Apron was found in an Auction Room in Rio de Janeiro. *Presented to the Lodge.*

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly presented these objects to the Lodge.

The following paper was read:—

THE SECOND DEGREE: A THEORY.

BY BRO. LIONEL VIBERT, *P.Dis.G.W., Madras.*



THE time-honoured problem of the development of our present Trigradal system really involves three, or indeed four, different investigations. We have, as late as 1723, two degrees, to the second of which Anderson gives a double title. We have, as early as 1725, three degrees, their titles being those we are familiar with to-day, and the process of development by which they attained their present form is ascertained with some completeness. But we do not know precisely what the two degrees of the earlier period included; nor do we know what ceremonies or secrets were originally associated with the Installed Master, or the history of the development of that office. Again, we are uncertain of the position in the system of the Hiramic Legend, the history of which remains unknown. Finally, no explanation has as yet been put forward of the fact that what was a Two-Degree system in 1723 had become a Trigradal system within the next two years. I propose to suggest to you an explanation of this last development. But some consideration of the other points is involved in the enquiry.

The materials at our disposal enable us to form some sort of picture of the condition of Freemasonry in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. The mediæval gild system had passed away and the trade now managed its affairs in a different manner; on its technical side it had undergone a transformation and the word Free-mason was as a trade designation well-nigh obsolete. But isolated bodies of persons calling themselves Freemasons still persisted. They were independent of one another, but spoke of themselves as all one Society. The extent to which they kept in touch with the trade varied from place to place; at York, Chester and Warrington the membership was mixed but predominantly non-operative. Anderson preserves the tradition of seven seventeenth century Lodges in London (*Cons.* 1738, 107); and we have a certain amount of definite information with regard to the London Acception, the inner circle of the London Company, from 1620 to 1676 at all events (Bro. Conder's paper in *A.Q.C.* ix.), while the meeting that Ashmole visited at Masons' Hall on 11th March, 1682, would also appear to have been one held in connection with this body.

From Aubrey and Plot we learn that the Society was well known to possess secret means of recognition, and a very formal ceremony of admission, that it recruited its members from all ranks of Society, and that it looked after poor and distressed brethren. The meetings were in some places called Lodges, so Plot tells us, and they had among them versions of what we know now as the Old Charges. They had apparently, in London at all events, come to speak not merely of the meetings but of the body of members as a Lodge. Randle Holme honours the Fellowship because of its antiquity, and seems to suggest that they attached special significance to the working tools of the trade (*Gould* ii., 180). He also is associated with a version of the Old Charges. And while it is true that Plot mentions the collation with which the candidates must entertain the ancients, which with Ashmole in London in 1682 is styled a Noble Dinner, these bodies were certainly not merely convivial clubs. Had that been the case John

Jones, A.B., of Dublin University, would assuredly not have failed to comment on it in 1688. But while he makes great play with their total disregard of social distinctions he has no allusion to feasting, and he admits that they relieve strolling distressed brethren. (Sadler, *Reprints and Revelations*, p. xx.). The poor and distressed brethren were presumably masons by trade; but the link that held the Society together, and the feature that attracted to it persons wholly unconnected with the trade all over the country must have been something other than the desire to relieve the necessities of distressed craftsmen, and is not adequately furnished by an occasional feast. It must surely be sought in the customs of the Society, its antiquity, its traditions, and its ceremonies of admission, and Aubrey is probably perfectly correct when he says (*vide* Gould ii., 6) their method of adoption is very formal.

As to the organisation of these bodies, the indications are that it was quite undefined. The Craft of an earlier day had elaborate regulations, and the Lodge, as workroom, was presided over by a senior Master, the *Magister caementarius* of the York regulations of 1352 (*vide* Begemann i., 71). It is one of the Masters who summons the brethren to resume work; it is the first and second Masons who are called Masters who take the oaths to the Dean and Chapter for the Lodge (Gould i., 302). The Master in the Gild was, however, independent of the Lodge workroom, and gild practice generally suggests that he had a right to attend meetings of his Craft anywhere on proving his mastership. Possibly the Masters in the Gild were always a body apart from and above the Lodge Fellows. They were men of great skill and recognised social status; it is by no means impossible that they cherished traditions, to put it no higher, of great master builders of antiquity. But with regard to the admission to membership of the Craft, the business was not in the hands of a president, by whatever title he might be called. It was the privilege of any Fellow, any full member of the Lodge and Fraternity, that is to say, the only restriction being that no Master or Fellow should make a Mason without the privity and consent of six or five Fellows at the least. We find this in the Fifth General Charge in its original form, and it is repeated in the New Articles of the Roberts Family, the first of which lays down that no person can be accepted a Freemason unless he have a Lodge of five Freemasons at the least, *i.e.*, unless five are present at the meeting. And again, in the York Orders of 1725, which undoubtedly represent much older material, we can presume from the text of Rule 8 that with the consent and presence of the Master or his deputy, or one of them deputed, the Fellows can form a Lodge to make Masons (*A.Q.C.* xiii., 7.) The associations of the seventeenth century, holding from time to time for the admission of candidates, the meetings that they designated Lodges, were, as it would seem, content to have each such meeting presided over by a senior Fellow or Master, and had no occasion to appoint a more permanent officer. In this connection Ashmole's statement that at the meeting of 11th March, 1682, he was the senior Fellow among them may be made with intention, if it was the case that he presided on the occasion. At York the Lodge in 1712 has a President and a Deputy which is, perhaps, exceptional and may represent a more developed body of Masons. But in London we see from Anderson's account (*Constitutions* 1738, p. 109) that the very meetings that inaugurated the Grand Lodge were presided over, not by a Master of a Lodge, but by the oldest Master Mason, and the way in which Anderson explains in brackets that this brother corresponded to the Master of the Lodge of a later day suggests that as yet, in London, the office of Master of the Lodge was unknown.

We know nothing of the previous history of the Four Old Lodges who came together in 1716 to organise the new association. Almost certainly there were not merely individual Masons but other Lodges in London at the time who took no part in the movement. And it is by no means clear just what object they proposed to themselves. The London Company had ceased to be associated with the Society for thirty years. As it seems to me, what they proposed was to form themselves into an unofficial City Company, so as to give themselves in some sort the standing that the Trade derived from the Masons' Company. The

City Companies had their Masters and Wardens; the Society was already familiar with these designations which we find in the New Articles of the previous century. They, therefore, hit on the natural expedient of calling the officers of the new body Grand Master and Grand Wardens, and the body itself became by analogy a Grand Lodge. For the first few years it did no more than meet annually for the Feast, at which each year a Grand Master presided. We may, I think, take it that at the time it had no thought of any further activities. With regard to the admission to membership of the Order, that remained as always in the hands of the Lodges. The Craft had preserved the designations that we find in the Old Charges of Apprentice, Fellow and Master, but as a speculative body it had apparently to a great extent obliterated all distinctions between the Fellow and the Master. The Master in the Gild had been a member of a limited and selected class who could not take work as a Fellow (*cf. A.Q.C. xiii., 81*). The position of the Master in the seventeenth century is obscure, but, at all events, he was not what we now understand by the term Master of the Lodge. The question then arises: What ceremonies did these bodies bring forward into the new organisation?

In his paper published in vol. xxxvii. of *A.Q.C.* Bro. Poole has brought together most of the material on which the answer to this enquiry must be based. For my present purpose it is only necessary to lay down certain broad principles which the evidence appears to me to have established. I am not now concerned either with the process by which the system in vogue in the London Lodges just previous to 1721 was arrived at, or with the question of its connection with the Gild and its ceremonies. Bro. Poole has, I think, indicated the character of that process and the consequent difficulties that the detailed consideration of the ritual of the seventeenth century involves. But what I shall endeavour to do is to state what the broad facts were in 1717 and probably for some years later. To the material collected by Bro. Poole I would add the doggerel verses endorsed on the *Stanley Text*, which will be found reproduced in full at *A.Q.C. i., 128*, where Bro. Speth shews that their date must be 1713 or 1714.

I think there can be no doubt nowadays that the system that came forward into the Grand Lodge era was a system of two degrees; that the method was one involving words, steps and grips; and that the ritual was based on a method of question and answer. The fact that texts connected with places distant from one another reproduce identical material involves that that material is itself of a definitely earlier date. One detail we can, in fact, take right back to Plot, namely, the suggestion about bringing the Mason down from a steeple. Personally I cannot think that this was ritual or even a test question. I see in it a traditional jest, the stock reply to impertinent investigators. Plot we know was the most credulous of men; he was told a good deal, and he certainly was allowed to read an actual version of the Old Charges. But his statement that the custom is spread over the whole nation may have no higher authority than his Staffordshire informants, and we can well imagine how his curiosity as to the secrets was fenced with, and how he was put off with the time-honoured joke which he proceeded to set down in all seriousness in his narrative. But even the idea of a traditional jest involves an established ritual of long standing.

Of these two degrees the first was that of the apprentice, and was concerned with the Pillars. It was the degree that was spoken of as making a Mason. We say to-day that no person can be made a Mason, etc. Nevertheless, it did in fact only make an apprentice; the *Grand Whimsey*,—to use Bro. Poole's convenient title—says categorically a person is only an apprentice until he has passed the Master's part, and this while incorrect for its date, 1730, is assuredly reproducing the usage of an earlier day.

According to the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, the second degree is that of the Master-Mason; the text says that this is all to be done to make a perfect Mason. It also has the term Fellow-Craft—we must remember that it was found in Ireland and shews traces of Scotch influence—but the term is used as convertible with Master-Mason. In all the material collected by Bro. Poole there

is nowhere before 1723 any use of the term Fellow as implying any rank or degree distinct from the Master Mason. In the 1723 exposure the two degrees are 'Entered Apprentice' and 'Entered Fellow.' And that the two designations are interchangeable is confirmed by the wording of Art. XIII. of Anderson's Regulations of 1723: "*Apprentices* must be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here unless by a Dispensation." He is speaking of one further degree and one only, but he is giving it a double title. This degree is associated in the exposures with a word that is printed Maughbin, whatever that may be taken to imply. To it we should also, perhaps, attach some other features of the *Stanley* doggerel which are nowhere referred to in the later documents. A suggestion of the Hiramite Legend only appears in the latter portion of the *Dumfries MS.*, but the references in the *Chetwode Crawley* and other texts to a green divot, or a green turf, or, as in the *Dumfries MS.*, to a stone trough, must be allowed their due significance. The evidence all agrees in presenting us with a ceremony of the utmost simplicity; there is no trace of any narrative or even of any explanation of passwords. And when, in 1725, Verus Commodus writes of two unhappy busy persons who—in addition to introducing the Craft to much rubbish as history—deflowered a venerable old Gentlewoman under the notion of making her an European Hiramite (Gould, *Hist.* iii., 485), this does suggest that there had been expansion. But we may not exclude the possibility of the preservation of traditional material, not defined in ritual form, and we do seem to have evidence that the name of a builder was preserved by the Craft and treated with special caution long before the days of Grand Lodge. The degree also appears to include a special form of salutation which the *Chetwode Crawley* gives in a question, other texts referring to the candidate as having to be in a special posture to receive the word.

Accordingly the position is that the two degrees that are still in 1723 the only degrees known to the Craft consist of one concerned with two Pillars, the degree of the Apprentice, and a second as to which all we can say categorically is that it is the degree of the Fellow and Master, and is connected with a word and signs which seem to indicate that some germ—to put it at the very lowest—of the Hiramite Legend came into the teachings if not into the ceremony. The name of the degree itself is "The Master's Part."

This name appears in the *Mason's Examination* and in the *Grand Whimsey*; and it was long ago suggested (*A.Q.C.* xi., 58) that it was known by that title, not because it conferred the distinctive degree of a Master—which it cannot strictly be said to do—but because it was concerned with a narrative of the fate of a Master.

Now our system to-day is one of three degrees which are not, however, each a complete distinct entity. The first two are closely connected, and, indeed, in one place we treat their central features as conjoint. It is in an entirely distinct degree that we learn of the Hiramite Legend which, together with other features of our present Third Degree, was the original Master's Part. How and why was this change made?

II.

The first few years of Grand Lodge were undistinguished. Anderson to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no evidence of any accession of numbers, still less of Lodges, before Payne's second year as Grand Master. It was now that the Society attracted the attention of antiquaries and learned men, of members of the Royal Society and persons of social standing. In Ireland and Scotland lords and lairds were no strangers to the Craft and had been members of it long before Grand Lodge was invented. So also in England in the previous century it had included many of the landed gentry. But we are now considering not the Craft in general but its particular developments in London and Westminster after the formation of Grand Lodge. Stukeley was made a Mason at the Salutation Tavern on Jan. 6th, 1721, as we learn from his Autobiography, and he tells us that immediately afterwards it took a run. And it was for the

Feast of this year that Grand Master Payne, observing the numbers to increase, found it necessary to make special arrangements, and accordingly it was held in Stationers' Hall. Till now the accommodation at the Goose and Gridiron had sufficed for the brethren, and, as we can see from the measurements given by Bro. W. J. Williams (*A.Q.C.* xxxvii., 45), this implies at the outside some sixty persons. The total membership at the time of the Feast of 1721 may have been at most 150.

But the necessity for greater accommodation was only part of the problem that was raised by the new accessions. Lodges that had hitherto held aloof may well have now desired to come in, and individuals seeking admission would also need to join a 'particular' Lodge. Now the very fact that all the Lodges of the period met of necessity at taverns would tend to make an individual membership of more than, say, 40 inconvenient, and we can understand that, at the close of his second year of office as Grand Master, Payne must have realized the need of dealing with what was an entirely unforeseen state of affairs. That he did something we know, for Stukeley tells us that, at this Feast, Grand Master Payne read over a New Set of Articles to be observed. These have not come down to us, for although in the 1723 *Constitutions* Anderson asserts that the Regulations he there gives represent them, being compiled first by Mr. George Payne and approved by the Grand Lodge at Stationers' Hall in June, 1721, he admits he has re-drafted them, and it is impossible to say to what extent they were varied in the process. But we can see that they must needs have been directed to the problem of the rapid increase in the membership of the Craft, and a consideration of Anderson's Regulations, and of the history of the period will, as it seems to me, indicate very clearly just how the problem was dealt with.

The Grand Lodge was founded by Four Lodges. The records disclose no further addition to that number till 11th July, 1721, with one possible exception and only one; that is to say that until after this Feast of June, 1721, the Craft had no experience of New Lodges. It seems to be clear that Grand Master Payne not merely took steps to enable existing Lodges as yet outside Grand Lodge to come into the Society in its new form, but also made what must at the time have been looked upon as an entirely new departure, in that he decided to recognise and to legalise the formation of New Lodges. In Anderson's Regulation VIII. and in the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, as he gives it, we can probably discern the gist of Payne's original directions. A New Lodge could be formed at any time by any set or number of Masons. They might be actually members of an existing Lodge who proposed to swarm, in which case the G.M. was to be satisfied that the original Lodge had become too numerous, and he would then grant a dispensation. But otherwise the only requirement was the G.M.'s formal sanction to the brethren's action in joining to form the New Lodge. It was then solemnly constituted by the Grand Master in person or by a Deputy, who, having approved of the Brother selected by the Lodge as their first W.M., proceeded to instal him. The Lodge was then registered in the Grand Master's Book, its existence was notified to all the other Lodges, and it forthwith took its position in the Society.

It is important to realise that this was an entirely new departure, and we can appreciate that the Four Old Lodges, while willing, perhaps, to admit to the Society other Lodges already in existence in London and Westminster, might well argue that the deliberate formation of a Lodge as a new body was a thing unheard of in Masonry. It introduced to the Craft a new conception of the Lodge itself. Originally the Lodge was merely the workroom of the Freemasons engaged on any structure, and each individual employed was *ipso facto* a member of it. That work being finished, the Lodge-workroom ceased to exist, and the Masons dispersed, although a few large foundations maintained a permanent staff of Masons who had a permanent Lodge to work in. The Freemasons assembling to construct some new edifice would arrange their concerns in the traditional manner and carry out their time-honoured ceremonies; they might be so fortunate as to possess their own manuscripts of the ancient

charges and history; and they would have a very definite consciousness of their membership of a Fraternity that extended throughout the kingdom.

When the days of Gothic had passed away the Fraternity continued to meet. The various bodies preserved the term 'Lodge,' which they now applied to their meetings, and these they held at taverns, probably for the simple reason that, now that Lodge-workrooms had ceased to exist, it was only in taverns that they could find the accommodation they required for their ceremonial work. In the seventeenth century these scattered associations only existed by virtue of their descent from trade organisations—the tradition of such a descent we find specifically preserved at Swalwell—and they still felt it incumbent on them to keep up some degree of association with the trade. Notwithstanding Plot's statement that they are spread over the kingdom, we can understand that the speculative descendants of the cathedral builders were in England in the seventeenth century practically a moribund body. It was really only by a happy accident that the Society was revived and remodelled, in London, and when, in its new form, it spread to the Provinces, it came among them as a new thing; only in Swalwell, Alnwick and York have we any evidence of its meeting with or reviving a previously existing Lodge. In such a Society, while, in London and other towns, the body of brethren might change its quarters from time to time, yet the most it could do would be to maintain its individual existence; the possibility of any new association being formed is practically excluded. And since as a body it recognised that its existence was bound up with its immemorial descent and its traditions, the very conception of a New Lodge was one that the Society would find it difficult to entertain, and was, in fact, not in harmony with the form in which the elements of the Society were at the time organised.

The conditions of 1721 made it imperative that the newcomers, with no tradition behind them, for whom there was no room in the original associations, should be able to constitute themselves into Lodges the officers of which were to be members of Grand Lodge, on a level in every way, except the antiquity of their origin, with those of its founders. Payne's New Articles, I suggest, gave them that power. Various detailed provisions in Anderson's Regulations imply that Payne also legislated for the internal administration of the new bodies. But on the 25th November, 1723, it was agreed *nem. con.* in Grand Lodge that the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges have power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly Meetings. To whatever extent this phrase operated to annul the Regulations, there was one very important restriction definitely in force at the time which was unaffected by the resolution, and that was the enactment which Anderson includes in his Reg. XIII.:—"Apprentices must be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here [*i.e.*, in Grand Lodge] unless by a Dispensation." This remained the law of the Craft until it was formally repealed by Grand Lodge on 27th November, 1725. The very fact that it was considered necessary to repeal it formally shews that it was not, like so much of Anderson's Regulations, the product of his own imagination, but was an enactment he had good authority for, and that authority can hardly have been anything else than Payne's New Articles of June, 1721.

Accordingly we can now piece together, provisionally, of course, the legislation that Payne introduced to meet the new conditions. In the first place he directed that each new Lodge should be formally constituted and registered in the Grand Master's Book. In the second he made various rules for the management of the Lodges; they were to have By-Laws and Lists of Members and to keep Minutes, Reg. III.; they were not to admit candidates without due enquiry, Reg. IV.; and so on. Finally, he directed that the Lodges could only make Masons, give, that is to say, the first of the two degrees then known. The Master's Part was only to be given in Grand Lodge, unless by dispensation. Actually we have no record either of any such giving, or of any dispensation, but that proves nothing. Now this meant that unless the Lodge already numbered among its members brethren with the further degree it could not instal its Master without the approval by Grand Lodge of the

individual selected. The law of the Craft was that the Master must be one who had taken this further degree; as Anderson phrases it, he must be among the Fellow-Craft. Even the Wardens, according to No. IV. of his so-called Ancient Charges, had to be similarly qualified. And while New Lodges might not perhaps have any grievance, the rule undoubtedly infringed the time-immemorial privileges of all Old Lodges, not merely the original Four, but any others who may now have come into the system. Yet it was unquestionably the Law of the Craft from the beginning of 1723 to November, 1725, and if the Rule was of Payne's introduction then it had been the Law since June, 1721. It might be the Law to-day but for a wholly unforeseen circumstance.

The Craft had, since 1721, increased considerably in numbers. It now spread to the Provinces. In 1723 there were Lodges at Greenwich and Richmond; in 1724 there were Lodges at Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, Chester, Caermarthen, Portsmouth, and Congleton in Cheshire. Payne's system, designed for Lodges within the Bills of Mortality, was bound to break down, and, in fact, it did so. The difficulty as to constituting was got over; the business was now entrusted to deputations, local brethren invested for the nonce with the powers of the Grand Master in this respect. But there was no delegation of the power to confer the Master's Part. And yet it is obvious that no one would go about to found a Lodge in, for instance, Caermarthen, if they had to send their Master-Elect and Wardens up to London every time to receive the Master's Part from Grand Lodge. The inference is inevitable that the Rule had become a dead letter. But in that case what was the position of the Brother installed as Master by the Lodge? My suggestion is that a solution had been found. The Craft introduced a Chair degree which, while not infringing the Law that the Master's Part could only be given in Grand Lodge, complied with the older, and probably time-immemorial law that the Master must be among the Fellows. They divided the one degree they could confer into two parts, and gave the second part of it the title Fellow-Craft, adopting the designation introduced to them by Anderson's *Constitutions*. They were then free to instal as their Master any brother who possessed the new qualification without the necessity of a reference to the central authority.

The first time we meet with this new degree is in the Minutes of the Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas. This was founded on February 18th, 1725, by eight persons, Masons, four of whom are recorded in the Minute-Book as having been regularly passed Masters in the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Hollis St. (*vide A.Q.C.* xvi., 112). The rules do not in terms say that the members shall be Masons, but all visitors had to be, and, in fact, those who joined as members who were not already of the Fraternity were made Masons as a preliminary to election. And the Minute-Book goes on to say: "Before we founded this Society a Lodge was held, consisting of Masters sufficient for that purpose, in order to pass Charles Cotton, Esqr., Mr. Papillon Ball, and Mr. Thomas Marshall, Fellow Crafts." On the 12th May, 1725, Brother Charles Cotton and Brother Papillon Ball were regularly passed Masters. Accordingly there can be no question that there were three degrees given to these brethren because Mr. Charles Cotton, as the records of the Society themselves establish, had been made a Mason by His Grace the Duke of Richmond in December, 1724, and Mr. Papillon Ball, Merchant, was made a Mason on the 1st February following. In the opinion of Grand Lodge these people were concerned in making Masons clandestinely—they were not a Lodge. At the meeting of May, 1725, it summoned certain members of the Society before it. But they never came. Payne visited them in September. And in December, after the Rule had been repealed, he is still writing to them and accusing them of making Masons irregularly. But they ignored his communications, and we hear no more of any attempts to interfere with them.

We have no ground for supposing that this was the first occasion when the degree was given, or that it was the invention of the Brethren of this Society. Anderson's phrase in his first Regulation of 1723, "true Lodge," indicates that by then Grand Lodge had arrogated to itself the right to control

the whole Fraternity in London and Westminster, and was prepared to stigmatise as False Masons all who had not admitted its authority. It might also be expected to view with disfavour persons who by a device were evading its Regulations. Nevertheless, although we find in the Minutes references to strange Brothers and Lodges formed without permission (19th February and 21st November, 1724, *Q.C.A.* x., 56, 59), they contain nothing that can be construed as a reference to any such practices. It is important to remember that at this time Grand Lodge was only the Lodges themselves in Council; it was not the Grand Lodge of 1726, and we must not import into our consideration of the events of the period our present-day conception of the Governing Body of the Craft as a distinct authority. If, in fact, the majority of the Lodges had adopted the new method, then when they met in council as Grand Lodge it was a simple matter for them to alter the law so as to bring it into harmony with the practice; it would be the obvious thing to do. The resolution of 27th November, 1725, was, in fact, passed *nem. con.*

It is possible that all the apparatus of Anderson's *Constitutions*, while well adapted to impress newcomers, who would not realize that the work was not official, would be taken less seriously by the older Lodges who knew the man and the genesis of his work. As a Grand Lodge the Craft treated the work with utter contempt when the statements made or the laws propounded did not happen to coincide with their views. And the tendency to restore privileges and eliminate restrictions must have been very strong. It is noteworthy that the meeting of November, 1725, was one that was attended, according to Anderson (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 119) by former Grand Officers and those of 49 Lodges. In fact, an analysis of Lane, and the tables given by Bro. Songhurst in the introduction to *Q.C.A.* x., leads me to think that in November, 1725, there were not more than 60 Lodges in the Metropolis at the outside. There are 29 Lodges in existence at this date which also appear in the 1730 List, the engraved List of 1729 having 31. There are three which are in the 1723 List and the 1730 but not in that of 1725; and there are 28 in the 1725 which have ceased to exist by 1729. All this only makes a total of 60, or 62, if we take the figures according to the 1729 Engraved List. So that the meeting was remarkably well attended; it seems to be the case that Anderson had some sort of attendance register to consult for the meetings from 1723 and that his figures for these meetings can generally be accepted. This suggests that there was something of special interest going on; the report of the Committee for regulating the General Charity was read at the meeting but it was not debated. I suggest (*cf.* Gould ii., 380) that the question was whether the Craft was to accept the position that had arisen and abandon the rule about the Master's Part, or whether they were going to adhere to Payne's unworkable system. We know what they did do; they recognised the new state of affairs, and got rid of a piece of legislation that was now obsolete.

There is another question that may be asked, and that is: How was the new system disseminated? Well, once more, we must put ourselves in the position of the Lodges of the period and not deal with the problem as if it had arisen yesterday. There were only these three score of Lodges in London, each with a small membership. The town itself was more like some small provincial town of our own day where everyone knows what is going on; certainly everyone in the comparatively narrow circle of the Craft would have ample opportunity to hear of so important a development, and its advantages being so obvious, to adopt it. Once more, we must not look on the problem as though it were a case of Lodges defying the governing body. The Lodges were themselves the governing body. Originally Payne's New Articles seem to have been imposed on Grand Lodge by his own authority; Grand Lodge had not as yet assumed administrative functions, having, indeed, nothing to administer. They, however, accepted the laws he provided for them. And for the time and the conditions the system was suitable enough. But by 1724 the Lodges must have realized that, in this particular, at all events, it was out of date; conditions had changed, and when, somewhere about this time, a new arrangement of the degrees had

been devised and had met with general approval, the Masters and Wardens in Grand Lodge assembled regularised the position by deleting a rule that had become a dead letter. As a natural result of the new development the Master's Part was relegated to a position of relative unimportance; this was probably unforeseen, but it was in any case inevitable.

A complete account of the course of events by which the two degrees known to the Craft became a system of three, a system which was within a very short time practically universally adopted, would need to comprise explanations of:—

- (a) The reason for making the change;
- (b) The method of its introduction;
- (c) The method of its dissemination.

Explanation or no explanation, the change was made, the system was introduced, and it was disseminated. I am in this paper suggesting what I believe to be the answer to (a). For (b) and (c) there does not, as it seems to me, exist the material for a definite assertion in the present state of our knowledge. I can do no more, therefore, at this stage, than indicate a possible account of the matter. But what I would ask to be allowed to do is to emphasize that if we keep clearly in mind the conditions of the period, the difficulties of (b) and (c) will not be so great as we might be ready to consider them, if we made the error of thinking of the problem in terms of present-day conditions.

The cardinal fact about the degree is that whereas in all exposures before Prichard, and all other indications of the early ritual, the accepted Mason is given both Pillars, in the trigradal system the material is made to serve for two degrees. And in practice, as we can see from Prichard himself, the Second Degree was originally no more than a repetition of the First, without any distinct obligation, and, indeed, with no distinctive features except that one name of two was emphasized. One had always been given greater importance and called the Universal Word, as in the 1725 exposure, for instance. It was associated with the First degree more especially, and gradually the degrees each took exclusive possession of one-half of the symbolism. As we know, after 1730 Grand Lodge made certain reversals and changes and did not revert to the original arrangement till the time of the Union.

The next fact that any hypothesis that can be framed must fit in with is that, whereas the material for the new degree was arrived at by a repetition and some re-distribution of the Acceptance, the degree the Lodges were in possession of, the name chosen for it was precisely the name that gave the Mason who had taken it the qualification for the Mastership of the Lodge that was required by the Law of the Craft, as stated in the *Constitutions*, and as also, no doubt, generally accepted.

Then, notwithstanding the division, all through the century the general practice was to give the two degrees on the same evening. Very often the individual went no farther; he remained a Fellow-Craft all his days. The very *Constitutions* themselves treat the two degrees as one. In the edition of 1767, Art. II. says that no Lodge shall ever make a Mason without due enquiry into his character; neither shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise the same Brother at one and the same meeting without a dispensation. So that Grand Lodge itself in 1767 held that making a Mason meant giving him at one time the double degree. At a much later date the two degrees were still so definitely considered as two parts of one ceremony that we actually get a combined Tracing Board, which is figured at p. 208 of Bro. Heiron's *Ancient Freemasonry*, and is there dated 1790.

Finally to-day the only qualifications indicated for the Master of a Lodge in the *Book of Constitutions* are that he shall be a Fellow-Craft and have served as Warden. This will be found in Ancient Charge No. IV., the footnote to which is of peculiar interest. The essential part of the ceremony of Installation, so far as the Lodge is concerned, all takes place in the Second Degree.

I do not propose to deal with the subsequent development of the degree; it underwent various changes all through the century, and, indeed, can hardly be said to have arrived at its present position until the days of the Lodge of Reconciliation. The Third Degree, as the Master's Part had now become, was now relegated to the background. It was in the position of a side degree, leading to nothing since it was not required as a qualification for any rank. But it was specialized in by Master's Lodges, and although we are told in 1730 "There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the Expence to pass the Master's Part" (*Grand Mystery* and cf. quotation at *A.Q.C.* x., 142), by 1764 the rituals are laying down that the Master is to be selected from Brethren with the higher qualification. But, even so, the phraseology of Preston suggests that the Master only took the degree when it became a question of his taking the Chair of the Lodge, and not till the Union had it become the usual practice to take the degree, as a matter of course.

III.

In 1725 and for many years after, it was perfectly possible for the Master of the Lodge to be only a Fellow-Craft and to have no knowledge of the Master's Part, and he might never acquire any. We actually find the Installation of a Provincial Grand Master in 1752 presided over by a Brother who was only a Fellow-Craft (Hughan, *English Rite*, 58). This fact may have an important bearing on the subsequent development of degrees, and it is desirable to say something about the Installed Master and his secrets, so far as it may be done with discretion.

Nowhere in all the material brought together by Bro. Poole is there a hint of any special secret restricted to the Master in the Chair; there is no evidence that he was anything more than the senior Master or Fellow present—Ashmole's case—filling the chair merely by right of seniority. The only rule was that no one but a Fellow, which includes Master, of course, could preside over a Lodge. At York and in Scotland there was a different system; a Master or President was regularly appointed. But there is still no evidence that in either place he had any esoteric knowledge or that there were any Chair secrets.

The just and perfect Lodge of the Old Charges—that is, the Lodge which met for the purpose of making Masons—was six Fellows, or five at the least. The Lodge of the Schaw Statute of 1598 (*vide* Lyon, *Mary Chapel*, p. 9), requires six Masters and two Apprentices, whereof the Warden of the Lodge shall be one of the said six. The New Articles of the *Roberts*—mid seventeenth century—require a Lodge of five Freemasons whereof one to be Master or Warden of that Limit or division. The *Chetwode Crawley MS.* gives us seven Masters and five Apprentices; the *Grand Mystery* requires five or seven right and perfect Masters. After 1723 we find a Master and Wardens, and later still three degrees, but the *Mason's Confession* reverts to the old system and has five Fellow-Crafts and seven Apprentices. None of the earlier texts, indeed, none at all, except the *Mason's Examination*, specifies a Master in the Chair, save the Scotch Statute, and in that he is of the Lodge by virtue of his position in the chair of the operative body. I am tempted to suggest that, in London, the idea of the Lodge having a regularly appointed Master, and not merely a Master for each meeting as it was held, was one that originated with Payne's legislation for the New Lodges, in which case naturally the idea of secrets restricted to the Chair would be no older, although when introduced the secrets themselves might well be selected from existing material itself traditional in the Lodges.

In 1723 Anderson, in the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge (*Constitutions*, p. 72), says the G.M. is to instal the Master by certain significant ceremonies and ancient usages, which are, however, carried out in open Lodge. Later on, in *Jachin & Boaz*, we find the Master has an obligation with a word and grip, but the Wardens take the obligation only. It seems to me that, if Anderson's significant ceremonies included any grip and the whispering of a word—and they can hardly have included more—this must have been something

distinct from the secrets of the Master's Part, which Anderson's Fellow-Crafts of 1723 were in possession of. And I think we can find an indication of what those additional secrets may have been in the *Stanley doggerel*, and in the long note on Hebrew names and titles at p. 10 of the 1723 *Constitutions*. If this is the case then from 1723, at all events, the Master in the Chair had his own secrets, though there is as yet no indication of a ceremony, and they were independent of the Master's Part, and would continue in use even when as the Third Degree it came back into the ordinary Lodge working. It is obviously possible that they may have been made the foundation for a special degree, a degree of gain in contrast with the Third, which is a degree of Loss. Such a degree would necessarily in the first instance be restricted to Masters in the Chair and P.M.'s. The *Stanley doggerel* mentions a word that is recognisable as one which in a slightly changed form is susceptible of a rather forced quasi-philological explanation. It seems possible that the R.A. owes its development to a time when there were in many Lodges Masters who found themselves at a disadvantage when confronted with Brethren who, though they had not passed the Chair, had, nevertheless, taken the Master's Part.

A few points remain for mention which could not very well be introduced in the body of the paper without interrupting the argument. The practice of the senior Master presiding is suggested in the Old Charges themselves, where it is the *seniores* who tender the Book for the craftsman to take the oath. The *Chetwode Crawley MS.* tells us that three lights denote the Master-Mason, the Word, and the Fellow-Craft. The parallel passages in other texts are collected at p. 20 of Bro. Poole's paper. They indicate that the true wording is Master, Warden, and Fellows. This implies that the Warden was known in the English Lodges, as an assistant to the Master, at an early date, and the name occurs in the *Roberts New Articles*; but the Master is the Brother presiding for the time being over the Lodge, and not a craftsman in possession of a higher degree. The occurrence of the term Fellow-Craft in the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* has already been referred to.

The f.p.o.f., an essential incident of the Master's Part, continued to be so called, even when the degree no longer conferred the rank of Fellow, or as it now was Fellow-Craft. As the greeting of the Fellow and Master, the name was appropriate. It was preserved, I think, because of the development of the new office (I avoid the word degree) of Master of the Lodge. This had its own secrets and apparently they included a grip. The old form of salutation, therefore, while now reserved for the Master-Mason, could not be spoken of as referring to mastership without confusion, and so retained its ancient title.

There may be another reason underlying the rule that kept the Master's Part in the hands of Grand Lodge. Payne may have intended to restrict the Hiramic Legend and the f.p.o.f. to the Master in the Chair, leaving the rest of the Craft to be Apprentices merely. His Masters would then be more on a level with the Gild Masters of the old days, a very narrow oligarchy. If this were indeed his intention, it would be an additional reason for the Lodges, who had allowed the rule to be imposed without seeing its implications, to set to work to get round it. The Masters, those, that is to say, who had taken the Master's Part, did in fact for some years constitute a small inner circle, but they had no power; to get that they had to come back to the Lodges and pass the Chair.

Bro. Lepper, who suggested this idea to me, tells me that in Ireland to-day the Charity test comes not in the First but in the Second Degree. This implies that it was originally in the Acception, and that when that came to be divided, the Irish Masons distributed the material in a different way. He has dealt with the point in a paper read to the Dublin Lodge of Research in 1915. There is a clear reference in the *Mason's Confession*, p. 25 of Bro. Poole's paper, to being deprived of metals. But I do not know of any reference to the actual test.

From the G.L. Minutes of 21st November, 1724 (*Q.C.A. x.*, 59), we see that it was still perfectly possible for six Fellows to get together and make

Masons; Grand Lodge had no power to abrogate the ancient custom. All they could do was to refuse to recognise Masons so made within ten miles of London, or admit them into the regular Lodges. As late as March 31st, 1735 (*Q.C.A.* x., 250), G.L. was still concerned with clandestine Masons, and could do no more than say they must not be officers of a Lodge or claim relief from the General Charity. We can appreciate that the authority of G.L. in its early days was none of the strongest, and the Brethren composing it would have been very ill-advised if they had not agreed to move with the times. It was precisely because at a later date they took upon themselves to alter the ritual that the movement began that culminated in the G.L. of the Antients.

It is a matter for consideration why the Antients, in the middle of the century, were content to restore, or perhaps we should say preserve, only the system as arranged at some time in 1724 or 1725, and did not revert to the two degrees of the earlier time. The explanation is, no doubt, that the movement which eventually resulted in their G.L. did not begin till after 1730. The Masons who at that time were not in sympathy with the original G.L. and objected to its re-arrangements of the system as it stood in 1730 would be still less in sympathy with the system of 1721 which gave it entire control over the election of the Master of each private Lodge. The trigradal system in its original form was that adopted by the other Grand Lodges.

This hypothesis of mine has been on the stocks now for some time, and all through I have had the advantage of criticisms and suggestions from many members of the Lodge and other Brethren with whom I have been able to discuss the whole question. I have availed myself of their assistance and have accordingly in the present paper varied to some extent the presentation of the theory from the form in which I first put it forward in the Prestonian Lecture for 1925. Whether I have gained adherents to it I cannot say; so many Brethren never forget that they were once taught to be cautious. I fully realise that I have raised up critics; it is with their assistance that the hypothesis will come eventually, I hope, to be such as the Craft can accept.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Vibert, on the proposition of Bro. John Stokes, seconded by Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump; comments being offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, J. E. S. Tuckett, J. Heron Lepper, H. Poole, T. M. Carter, W. J. Williams, A. Heiron, Geo. W. Bullamore, J. Walter Hobbs, and Gilbert W. Daynes.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP, in seconding the vote of thanks, said:—

Much will doubtless be said by others concerning the main question involved in the paper. Bro. Vibert is such a master of Masonic history and of literary expression that I cannot controvert his arguments. To me his theory seems sound, so my only comment must be concerning an admitted side-issue. With diffidence I suggest that his hypothesis would be rendered clearer if he would use the present-day terms 'employer' and 'employee' where those terms are synonyms of 'master' and 'fellow.' Many years ago Bro. Speth pointed out that 'master' and 'fellow' are terms which have had different meanings at different periods in the history of our fraternity; and it seems to me important that these different meanings should be borne in mind.

In the old Gothic minster-building days the *magister cementarius* was a superintendent of the work. His position and experience qualified him to be

'master' in the workshop attached to the edifice. The 'lords' (the employers then) probably had little concern with the personnel of artisans in the Lodge. But after the close of the cathedral-building period the skilled free-masons had to come under the mediæval Craft Gilds, who became determining powers in regard to employment and wages. And, before many generations had passed, the Gilds became mainly sodalities of employers. The 'master' then was a person who was permitted to employ workmen, to take apprentices, and to arrange for them to be taught their craft *ex bono animo*. Usually, no doubt, the master himself worked operatively among his assistants, and was esteemed by them an expert craftsman; but he was 'master' because he was employer. His Gild was chiefly for the interests of employers. As a Gild it may have preserved certain ceremonies, and it certainly had its elected 'master.' In each Gild of Masons there would be 'master-masons' besides the 'master of the Gild.' Meanwhile a combination of employees was also necessary, in order to secure fair hours and wages, to resist a cheapening of labour, as well as to render mutual assistance to each other in various exigencies. The 'fellows' then, although skilled artificers, were usually illiterate men; and therefore needed a secret and far-reaching system of recognition to enable illiterate masons to prove themselves 'fellows' to the satisfaction of others similarly illiterate, when seeking to work along with them in places where they were not previously known.

I need not remind you that it is through this federation of employees that our present Fraternity has derived descent—far more directly than through Gilds of employers. But another change occurred through the accession of 'accepted' masons to membership in these operative Lodges, which then met in local taverns. The motives which induced gentlemen of leisure and social eminence to associate with a trade organization lie outside our present concern. The motive of the operatives in admitting them was doubtless "to ensure their patronage and goodwill" (Speth); and therefore we may reasonably suppose that they were accepted to a 'fellowship' status *per saltum*. They were 'made masons' and would naturally be designated 'fellows,' not 'masters,' because in no sense were they masters in the Craft though they were fellows of the Society.

Now we come to the Transition Period, when these speculatives became more and more dominant in most of the English Lodges. What did the terms 'master' and 'fellow' respectively denote then? Bro. Vibert has reminded us that "the meetings that inaugurated Grand Lodge were presided over, not by a master of a Lodge, but by the oldest master-mason"; which seems to imply that as yet the office of Master of the Lodge was unknown. To this I suggest that the term 'master-mason' denoted an employer-stonemason, and that this restriction of the presidency in the Lodge was intended to placate those who desired that the old connection with tectonic operatives should not be broken. I therefore ask Bro. Vibert to reconsider whether the term 'Fellow-Craft' was ever used as convertible with 'Master Mason,' if by 'convertible' he means us to understand *identical*. That at that time they were regarded as equal in rank in the Lodge I admit; but the 'fellows' had been accepted by only a single ceremony, whilst the masters had been apprentices and 'fellows' before setting up for themselves as employers.

In Anderson's time the status of the acceptance apparently became reduced to 'Entered Apprentice,' thereby incidentally depriving the old Lodges of their power to confer by a single degree upon accepted Masons the status of 'Entered Fellow.' By 1723 (at latest) the 'Master's Part' had apparently become regarded unofficially as a 'Degree' by Lodges in London and Westminster, and possession of it had become a desideratum by speculatives who aspired to the office of 'Master of the Lodge,' or at all events desired to be on an equality with those who possessed that superior status. Hence the Regulation XIII., that they should be admitted to the *Degree* of "Master and Fellow-Craft" at a Quarterly Communication. So far as the Masters' Degree was concerned this usage was subsequently carried on in 'Masters' Lodges'

whilst as regards the Fellow-Craft Bro. Vibert has shown us how an intermediate new degree called 'Fellowcraft' may have been evolved by dividing the Acceptance ceremony into two.

We all admire the reticence whereby Bro. Vibert has avoided thorny issues irrelevant to his subject. In copying his caution I will merely point out that members of the 'Masters' Lodges' would comprise two categories, viz., the original 'master-masons' and the accepted 'fellows'—who were their own masters in other trades or professions—and ultimately the latter monopolised the term 'master-mason' by sheer force of numbers.

To say in conclusion that with the theory and evidence contained in Bro. Vibert's very valuable paper I am satisfied is perhaps but a poor compliment to Bro. Vibert, but at least it will testify to the genuine pleasure with which I second the vote of thanks.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In considering the subject treated to-night by Brother Vibert we have, I think, to make a choice between two possibilities: first, that the original system of two degrees contained, at all events, the skeleton of what we now possess in our tri-gradal system; or, alternatively, that the third degree, as we know it now, was a Masonic novelty in or about the year 1725. We can accept one or other of these twain according to taste—for I fear it is and will remain a matter of faith rather than of logical reasoning—but for my own part I cannot think that the beautiful symbolism of the Hiram legend is what one would expect as an invention of the early eighteenth century. This question is, however, quite distinct from the one to which Brother Vibert has given no equivocal answer. Were our present first and second degrees originally one? To my mind the evidence is conclusive. For instance, he has alluded to a different division of the degree having taken place in Ireland whereby the Charity clause is attached with us to the second degree. My I supplement this evidence by the fact that till the year 1858 the degrees of Apprentice and Fellowcraft were almost invariably conferred on one evening; and further, until this day, almost the first words that an initiate in Ireland hears give him to understand that he is about to join a society of *Brethren and Fellows*: which I am confident is a relic of ritual going back to before the time (I expressly will not say 1725) when the two degrees were actually one?

I wish now to raise a query which other Brethren may resolve. Are we certain that when Anderson writes: "*Apprentices* must be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here unless by a Dispensation," that he is giving a double title to the second degree?

It has always seemed curious to me that while Anderson's *Constitutions* were held Masonically sacred in Ireland till the star of *Ahiman Rezon* arose, the editions printed for local use from Pennell onwards carefully altered the text to suit the tri-gradal system—with the exception of one passage which was probably an oversight. Pennell was preparing his book in 1729, and there are so many alterations in it from the 1723 Anderson that I think the Dublin printer must have had advice from an active Grand Lodge of Ireland, though we are unable to prove that activity by written evidence; but beyond all doubt the Irish Masons in 1729 were wedded to the tri-gradal system. I would like to know how the new system, if it was a new system, became adopted in Ireland so quickly, whereas in France as late as 1744 (?) we find the true Craft degrees being stated as merely two, Apprentice and Fellowcraft. I cannot believe that a simple misreading of Anderson's text in Article XIII. would have led to such changes in Dublin, nor that if the Master's degree were so little known in England in 1725 that it would have been found so popular in Ireland by 1729, as it undoubtedly was, being obviously an essential preliminary to holding

office as Warden or Master in a subordinate Lodge. A similar argument could be drawn from the West Country working, but there are other Brethren more qualified to speak of the Bristol Rite which is practically the same to-day, *mutatis mutandis*, as it was two centuries ago.

Thus I am tempted to suggest one or two supplemental theories based on thoughts evoked by Brother Vibert's paper: that the division of the first degree into two took place prior to 1723 and that Anderson made a muddle of the facts, as was his way, when he tried to distinguish between the new and old systems in print; that there may have been, and probably were, local differences of division established as early as 1725, which differences I would roughly divide as regards the British Isles into Eastern and Western, possibly Northern as well; and finally, that in 1725 the ritual in existence must have been of the simplest description and, even in Lodges meeting in the same district such as London, must have admitted of as many variations as Lodges—not variations in the modes of recognition, perhaps, but certainly in the modes of communicating them. When we come to examine the oldest spurious rituals we are left in no doubt that they all refer to the one society, but equally we are left in no doubt that each compiler had his own method of working. And when we find such disagreement among our predecessors of two centuries ago, what wonder if we to-day find it difficult to agree on what were their actual points of agreement?

Now I come to the point on which I will not say that I disagree with Brother Vibert, but whereon I must confess he has failed to convince me. To quote two extracts from his paper:—

“The Craft introduced a Chair degree which, while not infringing the Law that the Master's Part could only be given in Grand Lodge, complied with the older, and probably time-immemorial law that the Master must be among the Fellows. They divided the one degree they could confer into two parts, and gave the second part of it the title Fellow-Craft, adopting the designation introduced to them by Anderson's *Constitutions*. They were then free to instal as their Master any brother who possessed the new qualification without the necessity of a reference to the central authority.”

“It is important to remember that at this time Grand Lodge was only the Lodges themselves in Council; it was not the Grand Lodge of 1926, and we must not import into our consideration of the events of the period our present-day conception of the Governing Body of the Craft as a distinct authority. If, in fact, the majority of the Lodges had adopted the new method, then when they met in council as Grand Lodge it was a simple matter for them to alter the law so as to bring it into harmony with the practice; it would be the obvious thing to do. The resolution of 27th November, 1725, was in fact passed *nem. con.*

Now if this second extract is common sense, as I believe it is, I cannot see why the Brethren should have adopted the expedient suggested in the first and made an innovation in their private Lodges for the purpose of upsetting a Grand Lodge Law which they could, and did, ultimately repeal *nem. con.* some three years after it was passed. Brother Vibert's theory may be right, but it requires a great deal more evidence than he has been able to put forward yet. In fact, he gives us no shadow of proof for the suggestion, and on his own showing the adoption of such a method of countering an unpopular and unworkable Law was unnecessary.

I am the more careful in expressing my personal *non placet* with the theory on account of the Brother who has put it forward. A *theory* that has suggested itself to Brother Vibert may well pass for *fact* with some of us lesser lights, and with the desire to have it recognized generally as a *theory*, a plausible theory perhaps, but nothing more, I enter in as public a manner as possible my own verdict of Not Proven.

There is one final suggestion that came to me from this paper which I will now pass on for what it is worth: it is that successive generations of bad editors working from Anderson's original careless text of 1723 are responsible for the present anomaly that in England the Fellow-Craft degree is, legally, the highest a Mason need attain before being eligible to the most distinguished offices in the Craft. In practice we know that this is not so, but in theory it holds good. It would be interesting to know whether any other Constitution than the oldest has preserved such a fossilized relic of a period when undoubtedly as it seems to me, there were but two degrees in existence, the Apprentice and Fellow. For this much I can answer that the Irish editors did their work better, and from 1730 on you will find the language of the Irish *Constitutions*, even in the Old Charges, altered to suit the new division into three Degrees, and the Master Mason made the requisite degree and not the Fellow (which I believe was only actually a change in name) for promotion in a subordinate Lodge or in Grand Lodge itself.

When this division took place I will not hazard a conjecture, but my belief is that it was prior to 1723, and that when Anderson drafted his XIIIth Regulation he was darkening judgment both for his contemporaries and for us.

It would be ungrateful to finish these comments without an expression of sincere thanks and admiration to the author of the paper for the care and scholarship that have gone to its compilation. Brother Vibert may not be able to make us accept his theory without further evidence, but not one of us will be able to refuse him the tribute that is due to a valuable marshalling of facts, expressed with a force and clarity which we all must envy, and illustrated by a knowledge that few of us can equal.

Bro. J. E. SHUM TUCKETT writes:—

For many reasons I am unable to regard the theory proposed in this paper as a possible solution of the problem presented by the advent of the Trigradal System. We are urged to keep clearly in mind the conditions of the period, and to avoid the error of thinking of the problem in terms of our present-day conditions. This is very necessary, but it seems that the more allowance is made for the situation in which the Order found itself in 1717-1725 the less reason there is for confidence in Bro. Vibert's theory concerning the important change which then occurred.

In the first place, although Bro. Vibert admits that there were Lodges and Brethren in 1717-1725, other than those of the Grand Lodge party, his theory in reality ignores them:—

“But we are now considering not the Craft in general but its particular developments in London and Westminster after the formation of “Grand Lodge”;

and, as he presents it, the problem is one that only concerns the Grand Lodge section of the Fraternity. Bro. Vibert, indeed, would have us believe that the Grand Lodge section of the Order was very nearly all of it that then survived. At several places he uses the expression ‘The Craft’ when he really means the Grand Lodge party within the Craft:—

“The Craft had, since 1721, increased considerably in numbers. It “now spread to the Provinces.”

Thus used the expression occurs three or four times even in the Synopsis sent out with the Lodge Summons.

He tells us that:—

“Notwithstanding Plot's statement that they are spread over the “Kingdom, we can understand that the Speculative descendants of the

“Cathedral builders were in England in the eighteenth century
 “practically a moribund body . . . when, in its new form, it
 “spread to the Provinces, it came among them as a new thing; only
 “in Swalwell, Alnwick, and York have we any evidence of its meeting
 “with or reviving a previously existing Lodge”;

and, at another page, he says that Plot's statement:—

“may have no higher authority than his Staffordshire informants.”

Bro. Vibert's, I submit, is no true picture of the Craft in 1717-1725. If Plot's account in 1686 is worth quoting as evidence in other respects (as Bro. Vibert takes for granted) then his testimony that the 'custom' of 'admitting men into the Society of Free-Masons' was 'spread more or less all over the Nation' must be accepted also. Before the era of central government a 'Lodge' was not necessarily a permanent entity with a regular abiding place and a definite roll of members. Any sufficient number of Brethren in permanent or temporary possession of a copy of the Old Charges could and did meet anywhere at any time, Open a Lodge, transact Masonic business, refresh themselves, Close the Lodge, and there was an end of that 'Lodge' for ever, no Warrants or Minutes or Records of any kind being necessary. Such knowledge as we possess of pre-1717 Lodge affairs is derived mainly from bodies which had for special reasons been able to acquire a certain degree of permanence or continued existence in one place, *e.g.*, the "Accepcon" of the Masons Company at London. The brief interval 1686 to 1717 could not have witnessed the virtual extinction of a Society which at the earlier date was "spread more or less all over the Nation." The testimonies of Ashmole (1646 and 1682), Plot (1686), The Dublin Tripes (1688), Randle Holme (1688), Aubrey (1691), Steele (1709-10), and the records at London (The Accepcon), Scotland, and York, justify the belief that in 1717 there were still assemblies of Speculative Freemasons 'spread more or less all over the Nation' and that the Society was still sufficiently alive to occupy profitably the pen of the *non-Masonic* satirist and humourist, which is no mean test.

As the Grand Lodge was formed by but four London Lodges it was at the outset only a small minority in the Fraternity at large. Even in 1724 the number of Lodges in the Provinces recognising its authority was under a dozen, and it follows that while the change—three degrees for two—was taking place there were Lodges and assemblies of Masons in London and up and down the country whose rights were in no way interfered with or even threatened by Art. XIII. or any other regulations of the Grand Lodge at London. Bro. Vibert's theory is that the Trigradal System resulted from a manœuvre by the Lodges under the Grand Lodge by which they evaded a G.L. Regulation which deprived them of a highly cherished privilege. Thus a *motive* is suggested for the action of these Lodges, who were (as he says) the authors of the new second degree. But can Bro. Vibert explain how the *non-Grand-Lodge* section 'more or less all over the Nation' obtained knowledge of this 'new' extra degree, and why (with no motive at all) they straightway adopted it for their own Lodges? Yet, assuming Bro. Vibert's theory to be correct, this is just exactly what must have happened. For when, in 1730, the Grand Lodge made certain drastic changes in the ritual, it was the *non-Grand-Lodge* section (Lodges and Masons who were never subject to the Grand Lodge) who commenced what may conveniently be called the 'Antients' movement and so stoutly upheld the original Trigradal system as it was before the Grand Lodge tampered with it in 1730. Bro. Vibert on this point says:—

“The Masons who at that time (*i.e.* after 1730) were not in sympathy
 “with the original Grand Lodge and objected to its re-arrangements of
 “the system as it stood in 1730, would be still less in sympathy with
 “the system of 1721 which gave it entire control over the election of
 “the Master of each private Lodge.”

He does not explain why these Brethren who put up an heroic fight against the 1730 innovations of the Grand Lodge (which they did not recognise) did so in defence of what (according to this paper) was an earlier innovation by the same enemy. Why did not these Brethren strive to 'restore or preserve' whatever it was that they themselves were working before the enemy (the Moderns Lodges) invented the extra degree of Fellow-Craft and so created the Trigradal System? This consideration alone, I think, is sufficient to condemn Bro. Vibert's theory as unsound.

Amongst the conditions prevailing at the time of the change is the fact that the Grand Lodge and the Lodges which formed it were practically one and the same thing. As Bro. Vibert puts it:—

"It is important to remember that at this time Grand Lodge was only
"the Lodges themselves in council."

"The Lodges were themselves the governing body."

In 1721 or 1723 the Grand Lodge, *i.e.*, the Lodges 'in Council,' enacted that:—

"Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here
"[*i.e.*, in Grand Lodge] unless by a Dispensation."

By this Art. XIII. the Lodges (for it was the Lodges 'in Council,' not Payne, who turned Art. XIII. into a Masonic *Law*) made it impossible for them (the Lodges *as Lodges*) to confer the second Degree which was the qualification required in a Brother who aspired to election to the Chair of the Lodge. The Lodges thus, by their own act, deprived themselves of the right to elect and instal their own Masters. Concerning this qualifying degree Bro. Vibert says:—

" . . . it is the degree of Fellow and Master . . . The name of
"the degree itself is 'The Master's Part.'"

" . . . the Hiram legend which, together with other features of
"our present Third Degree, was the original Master's Part."

As soon as the Lodges realized the consequences of Art. XIII. they set to work to regain the privilege which they had stolen from themselves. According to Bro. Vibert they did not at once repeal Art. XIII.—which was the obvious course to take, and also the simplest and surest, since the Lodges *themselves* were 'the central authority' the only body possessing the power to carry it through. He says:—

"They divided the one degree they could confer into two parts, and
"gave the second part of it the title Fellow-Craft, adopting the designation introduced to them by Anderson's *Constitutions*. They were then
"free to instal as their Master any brother who possessed the new
"qualification without the necessity of a reference to the central
"authority."

This plan must have been decided upon by the Lodges acting in consultation together (but not, of course, 'in council') because they all adopted exactly the same expedient. This expedient was to satisfy *their own* demand that the Master-elect should be in possession of the Master's Part (*i.e.*, 'the Hiram Legend . . . together with other features of our present Third Degree') by giving him one moiety of a degree which had nothing whatever to do with 'The Master's Part,' the Hiram Legend, or our present Third Degree. Finally, having removed the grievance caused by the continued presence of Art. XIII. amongst the Grand Lodge Laws, the Lodges 'in Council' removed all occasion for their own previous action by removing (*i.e.*, repealing) the said Art. XIII., which they did on the 27th November, 1725. This does not appear to be a reasonable hypothesis.

Bro. Vibert believes that the title 'Fellow-Craft' lends support to his views. He says:—

" . . . the new degree . . . the name chosen for it was precisely
"the name that gave the Mason who had taken it the qualification for

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" . . . the new degree . . . the name chosen for it was precisely
"the name that gave the Mason who had taken it the qualification for

“the Mastership of the Lodge that was required by the Law of the Craft, as stated in the *Constitutions*.”

But a ‘qualification’ is not derived from a mere ‘name’ but from what that name represents. When the Law of the Craft, requiring that a new Master should be a ‘Fellow-Craft,’ was framed there already existed a degree generally known by that name, and it was the possession of this particular piece of Masonic instruction which constituted the ‘qualification,’ not its ‘name.’ This degree is referred to by the same name in the famous Art. XIII. No special significance attaches to Anderson’s use of the ‘designation’ ‘Fellow-Craft’ in 1723, and it was not *then* (as Bro. Vibert states) that it was ‘introduced’ to the notice of the Lodges. It is in Art. XIII., and Bro. Vibert places Art. XIII. as far back as Payne’s New Articles of June, 1721. Even in 1721 it was already well established as one of several alternatives used to designate the degree above the Apprentice. It occurs in the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* which Bro. Poole assigns to the same date (1702) as the Haughfoot Minute, to which document it is very closely related.

In opposition to the view expressed by Bro. Vibert that:—

“As a natural result of the new developments the Master’s Part was relegated to a position of relative unimportance; this was probably unforeseen, but it was in any case inevitable.”

“The Third Degree, as the Master’s Part had now become, was now relegated to the background, It was in the position of a side degree, leading to nothing since it was not required as a qualification for any rank.”

I would point out that, whatever view be taken of Bro. Vibert’s theory, far from being relegated to the background or thrust into the position of a side degree, The Master’s Part was by the advent of the Trigradal System elevated to the position of the highest degree-of-membership of the Order, and that it became the qualification for the *rank* (something quite distinct from *Office*) of a full member of the Fraternity. That the Brethren only gradually realized the benefit of the new arrangement does not affect the argument.

It is not a point of any importance, but I cannot understand why Bro. Vibert lays such stress upon the unheard-of-ness of the creation of New Lodges, nor can I see how the laws (also the work of the central authority, *i.e.*, the Lodges in Council, when it passed them) providing for New Lodges so greatly aggravated the grievance caused by Art. XIII.

Bro. Vibert *assumes* that the change from two degrees to three came about within the Grand Lodge section of the Fraternity. The evidence points to its having originated in those Lodges which remained outside, and to its having been adopted by the Grand Lodge section to conform to the custom of the main body of the Fraternity. How else shall we account for the forerunners of the Antients being in possession of the original Trigradal System, and for its adoption by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland?

Bro. Poole’s valuable paper (*A.Q.C.* xxxvii.) proves that before 1717 and down to 1725 there was no uniformity of Masonic working either at different times or in different localities. The titles of the steps vary, and similarly sounding but not identical titles do not necessarily cover the same ground. Details in one document are absent from others, and sometimes there is ‘telescoping’ of steps. Substantially the same Masonic Instruction is communicated at different times and different places in *one* or *two* distinct stages, and, as early as 1723, sometimes in *three*. In the *Mason’s Examination* of 1723, of which the text ‘contains a reading which is several years older than the printed copy’ (Gould, *History* II., 363), The Master’s Part is as clearly something beyond the Fellow as the Fellow is clearly something beyond the Enter’d Mason, making three steps although there may still be only two membership degrees. Bro. Baxter argues, and I agree, that in Anderson’s 1723 *Constitutions* there is evidence of three *separate stages* of Masonic Instruction, but here also in my opinion only two degrees of membership are clearly indicated.

Taken collectively the evidence does not prove that 'The Master's Part' was merely another name for the Second Degree or 'degree of Fellow and Master.' It indicates that 'The Master's Part' (*i.e.*, the Hiram Legend) sometimes was given as part of the Second Degree, and sometimes was not, and again (in the later years of the period) was sometimes given on a separate occasion or as a separate step. According to the *Articles of Union* (1813) there are to-day 'three degrees, and no more.' Our highest degree of membership is 'The Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.' This is now conferred in two separate steps, the Third Degree and Exaltation, at an interval of not less than one month, each step having its own ceremonial and secrets, and the majority of Master Masons never take the second step. So that we now have two classes of Master Masons:—

- (1) Those who have taken the III^o only.
- (2) Those who have *also* been Exalted.

The M.M. of the second class possess no higher degree than do those of the first class, and in neither class is present or past *Office* in Masonry a prerequisite. There are also four other Masonic ceremonies, each with its own set of secrets. These are associated with *Office* (the chairs in Craft and Royal Arch), but none of them are degrees. Until 1724-5 'The Master's Part' (*i.e.*, the Hiram Legend) seems to have been in much the same position as the Royal Arch Exaltation has been in since 1813. It was not a 'degree,' but a Ceremony-with-Secrets, sometimes, but not always or in all Lodges, conferred on the Brethren of the Second Degree—Fellows or Fellow-Crafts or whatever title was the one locally used. It is only a conjecture, but it is a reasonable (and I believe the correct) one, that 'The Master's Part' was associated with the Rulership of the Lodge, and was in some Lodges conferred upon the Fellow or Fellow-Craft either just before or after he was placed in the Chair of the Lodge, but it is fairly clear that 'The Master's Part' was not universally regarded at that time as an essential part of his Masonic equipment. The expression in Art. XIII. 'Masters and Fellow-Craft,' I suggest, means Brethren of the Second Degree who had also received 'The Master's Part.' Anderson's phrase 'the new Master and Wardens, being yet among the Fellow-Craft,' I think, means that the candidates for those Offices *must* possess the Second Degree but *need not be* in possession of The Master's Part. If, as Bro. Vibert says it does, the *Chetwode-Crawley MS.* of circa 1702 makes the term 'Fellow-Craft' convertible with 'Master Mason,' this would mean that where this *MS.* was used it was the custom to give The Master's Part to all members of the Second Degree, but it would not follow that that was the *universal* practice.

The available evidence suggests the belief that the two degrees of the Two-Degree System contained substantially the same Masonic Instruction as the E.A. and F.C. Degrees of the present day, and that there was an *additional* ceremony—with secrets—known as The Master's Part (containing the Hiram Legend), which was not a 'degree' but was occasionally conferred upon Brethren already in possession of the superior of the two degrees. A simple and apparently satisfactory theory of the advent of our present-day Trigradal System is that The Master's Part was raised to the status of a degree-of-membership of the Order and became the Third (*i.e.*, the highest) Degree, at the same time being freed from any association with the *Office* of Master-of-a-Lodge if previously there had been such association.

Our thanks are most certainly due for a most stimulating paper, and inability to agree with his views in no way detracts from my own personal feeling of gratitude to its author. I have been particularly interested in Bro. Vibert's references to the Master-of-the-Gild and the position of a 'Master' in the seventeenth century and I trust that we may in the near future have a paper from him on the Development of the Office of Master-of-a-Lodge.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

We may be quite certain that any theory finally submitted by so distinguished a Masonic Student as our Brother Vibert, after consideration by him of the views previously expressed by other Brethren, is one which has not been formed rashly, and from which he is not likely to recede unless and until he is fully persuaded in his own mind that the theory is untenable.

It says much for the rigorous methods of secrecy adopted by our Brethren who formed the First Grand Lodge, and their successors for a number of years, that resort has to be made to a series of so-called exposures in the hope of gleaning from the not always consistent allegations of such documents some kind of a coherent account of ceremonies which the *Books of Constitutions* pass over in complete silence. The only ceremony described in any way in the 1723 and 1738 *Constitutions* is that of constituting a new Lodge, which no exposure referred to discloses.

In the course of his paper Bro. Vibert incidentally refers to some matters not really necessary to his argument, and thus certain *obiter dicta* appear which should be noticed lest it be supposed that they are definite decisions.

I venture to mention the following:—

As to the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, which in the style of other exposures is headed "The Grand Secret or the forme of giving the Mason Word." Although there are phrases in this MS. which indicate that Fellow Craft and Master Mason were linked together, the document is not consistent with itself in such usage, as witness the following phrases:—

"Then the Master Mason gives him the word and gives his hand and afterwards all the Masons."

"Are there Lights in your Lodge?"

"Ans. Three. The N.E., The S.W. and the Eastern passage.

"The one denotes the Master Mason, the other the Word, and the third the fellow Craft."

Here is a most definite distinction. (Instead of the *Word* we should read the *Wardens* as in other exposures. The slip indicates that the document was copied by a writer who was himself ignorant.)

Perhaps the solution is that while the President was 'THE Master Mason,' the others, who are sometimes called Masters, and once Mason Masters, but more frequently Masons, were in the position of those very numerous sea-faring men who have a Master's Certificate although they may never have been Masters of a Ship. There is not sufficient evidence to enable us to conclude that any such Masters existed in England in or before 1723.

As to the wording of Regulation XIII., "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here unless by a Dispensation."

Concerning this Bro. Vibert says (and Gould and others said it before him) that Anderson "is speaking of one further degree and one only, but he is giving it a double title."

I am far from satisfied as to this. Much confusion has been wrought by introducing the word 'Degree' prematurely. The word 'Degree' does not, I believe, occur in the 1723 *Constitutions*. The first use of the word is (so far as I have been able to ascertain) on the Title page of Prichard's 1730 Edition. In 1723 the Brethren do not appear to have thought of Masonic progress under the heading 'degrees,' but rather by the designations of the Brethren.

It seems an unsafe way of procedure to take an isolated phrase used incidentally and to pass over with scarcely a mention the paragraph in the *Constitutions* which expressly deals with the subject under discussion.

Gould himself at one time said (*History*, vol. II., 286) that "there is nothing in the language of the *Constitutions* of 1723 which will justify the conclusion that at the date of its publication the term 'Master' signified anything but 'Master of a Lodge.'"

Charge IV. in the 1723 *Constitutions* sets out the stages of progress through which a Brother might pass. It is a golden rule of Interpretation

that, when a question arises, the first thing to do is to refer to the clauses in the document under consideration which purport to deal with the points at issue.

The heading of Charge IV. is:—"IV. of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices."

It is stated that *Candidates* may know that no *Master* should take an *Apprentice* unless he has sufficient employment for him and unless he be a perfect Youth, having no maim or defect in his Body, that may render him incapable of learning the Art, of serving his *Master's* LORD, and of being made a *Brother*, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time . . . that so when otherwise qualify'd he may arrive to the Honour of being the WARDEN, and then the *Master* of the *Lodge*, the *Grand Warden*, and at length the GRAND MASTER of all the *Lodges*, according to his Merit.

No Brother can be a WARDEN until he has pass'd the part of a *Fellow-Craft*; nor a MASTER until he has acted as a *Warden*, nor GRAND-WARDEN until he has been *Master* of a *Lodge*, nor GRAND MASTER unless he has been a *Fellow-Craft* before his Election. . . . And for the better and easier, and more honourable discharge of his office, the *Grand Master* has a power to chuse his own DEPUTY GRAND-MASTER, who must be then, or must have been formerly, the *Master* of a particular *Lodge*, and has the privilege of acting whatever the GRAND-MASTER his principal should act, unless &c.

It will be observed that the Charge contains the following series:—

Candidate
Apprentice
Fellow-Craft
Warden
Master of the Lodge
Grand Warden
Grand Master

No one will question that in all four cases "Master" is equivalent to "Master of the Lodge."

Neither here nor elsewhere in the 1723 Charges does the word *Master-Mason* occur. It is not in the General Regulations, but it occurs several times in the Historical part and always refers to the Leaders of the Craft.

It is alleged that the phrase "Masters and Fellow-Craft" used in Regulation XIII. is one title relating to one person and that consequently 'Masters' in that phrase may and does include persons who had never been and might never be Masters of a Lodge. In other words anyone admitted 'Fellow-Craft' became *ipso facto* a 'Master.' I see no reason for making such an assumption.

'And' as a general rule implies addition and distinction.

Let us test the point. If we refer to the *Harleian MS.* 2054, we find the phrase "These be charges in generall which every Mason should hold both Masters and fellows." Other Old Charges have the same or almost identical words. The word 'both' shows a clear distinction between the two titles, and the terms used in Regulation XIII. seem to have been thence derived.

If Bro. Vibert's assumption is correct, every Fellow-Craft admitted under Regulation XIII. was a 'Master and Fellow-Craft.' Hence wherever 'Fellow-Craft' is used we are entitled to substitute 'Masters and Fellow-Craft.'

Thus on page 71 in the Manner of constituting a New Lodge we should read:—The Candidates or the new Master and Wardens, being yet among the '*Masters and Fellow-Craft*,' and on page 72 the new Master calling for the 'two Masters and Fellow-Craft' presents them to the Grand Master, &c.

Again, after the Master's Song (p. 75) and the Warden's Song, we proceed at page 83 to the Fellow-Craft's Song. But that might just as well (on the hypothesis) have been called the Master's and Fellow-Craft's Song.

As another instance. In Charge V. (p. 52) the sentence "The most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed the Master, or

Overseer of the Lord's work; who is to be called Master by those that work under him;" might just as well read, "The most expert of the Masters and Fellow-Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed the Master, or Overseer of the Lord's work." Further, a Fellow-Craft was on the hypothesis equally entitled to be called a Master. But it was simply not done. The existing note to Antient Charge IV. rightly says: "N.B. In antient times no brother, however skilled in the craft, was called a Master-Mason until he had been elected into the chair of a Lodge." This rule appears to have disappeared between the 1723 and 1738 Editions and was one of the consequences of the amendment in November, 1725.

I do not think it has ever been alleged that the phrase "Master or Fellow" in Charge III., or "Master and Fellows" on page 53 (Charge V.) and page 56 (Final Charge) and in the Historical part (p. 33) is one composite title. 'Master' in each of those cases must mean 'Master of a Lodge.' Why then should we say that in the phrase "Masters and Fellow-Craft" in Regulation XIII. "Masters" means anything but Masters of Lodges?

Thus far the 1723 Version of IV. Charge.

The alteration in Regulation XIII. made on 27th November, 1725 (not 22nd November, 1725, as stated in Anderson's column of "New Regulations") necessitated various consequential alterations when the 1738 Edition was prepared.

Thus in Charge IV. we have, "he may become an Enter'd Prentice or a Free-Mason of the lowest Degree, and upon his due improvements a Fellow-Craft and a Master-Mason capable to undertake a Lord's work."

"The Wardens are chosen from among the Master-Masons, and no Brother can be a Master of a Lodge till he has acted as Warden somewhere except in extraordinary cases: or when a Lodge is to be form'd where none such can be had: For then 3 Master Masons, tho' never Masters or Wardens of Lodges before, may be constituted Master and Wardens of that new Lodge. But no number without 3 Master-Masons can form a Lodge; and none can be the Grand Master or a Grand Warden who has not acted as the Master of a particular Lodge."

Thus the order of progress in 1738 was varied to:—

Enter'd Prentice
Fellow Craft
Master Mason
Warden
Master of a Lodge
Grand Warden
Grand Master

In other words, the new term Master-Mason has been inserted, and the excuse for calling a Brother who has not been Master of a Lodge a Master-Mason is that he is "capable to undertake a Lord's work," which is equivalent to Brevet Rank or to the Master-Mariner's Certificate given to one who has never been Master of a Ship.

Brother Vibert begins section 3 of his paper by stating, "In 1725 and "for many years after it was perfectly possible for the Master of the Lodge to "be only a Fellow-Craft and to have no knowledge of the Master's Part and "he might never acquire any." I reminded him that the 1738 *Constitutions* as before quoted required that even a Warden should be a Master-Mason and that consequently the Master of the Lodge must have the like qualification.

In reply Bro. Vibert told me that the 1738 variations were practically ignored by the Craft, and that when Entick's edition of the *Constitutions* appeared in 1756, the 1723 formulæ were more or less reverted to. This argument reminds one of a steeple-chase, where, if you meet with an obstacle, you jump over it. As against this, I would observe that Spratt's *Constitutions* for the Grand Lodge of Ireland, published in 1751, copy, with only the merest unimportant verbal alterations, the IV. Charge of 1738, and that not without

authority and the lapse of time for trial, as the same 1751 edition (Spratt) states that they were approved by a select Committee appointed by the Grand Lodge in 1739 being the second year of the Grand Mastership of Lord Blessington.

Isolated instances of breaches of a law in special circumstances do not, so far as I am aware, abrogate a law.

I venture to doubt whether a sound argument can be based on the fact that in the combined Tracing Board illustrated in Bro. Heiron's book the first and second degrees are shown together. The Tracing Board in question is a portable one cut up into sections having only two sides, and the combination was a necessary consequence.

Nor is it prudent to rely upon the allegation in the Grand Mystery "There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the expence to pass the "Master's part." This exposure does not purport to give the Master's part, and the author adds "except it be for interest," which may mean several things, but the whole sentence seems primarily intended as an excuse for not revealing the secrets relating to the Master's part, without pleading inability.

Before we can come to a satisfactory conclusion as to the purpose for which the alleged new degree of Fellow-Craft began to be conferred in the Lodges it would be interesting to know what were the conditions of electing, qualifying and installing a Master of a Lodge other than a new Lodge. If the Lodges without a dispensation, either particular or general, decided that a part of the Apprentice's Ceremony should be called the Fellow-Craft it is difficult to see how they could get any further. The mere fact of calling an Apprentice a Fellow-Craft (for that is practically what it amounts to) could not, except on Utopian principles, be deemed a qualification. How could any such Master of a Lodge so poorly and so irregularly qualified expect to be recognised by other fully qualified Officers at Grand Lodge as having been properly installed as a Master?

The only possible solution that I can see is that the leading Masons of the time (such men as Payne and Desaguliers) had given an intimation that the Lodges could proceed to qualify Apprentices first as Fellow-Crafts, for which only a short ceremony of admission was necessary, and even (may be), when they knew the work, as Masters. To save the necessity of granting dispensations, either formally or informally, the resolution of 27th November, 1725, was passed and it was probably intended to operate retrospectively. The whole business was settled and Lodges having a majority of Masters were authorised to make Masters within quite a short period.

The formation of new Lodges does not really seem to have been so difficult as Bro. Vibert alleges. The number and status of Masons meeting together who could form a Lodge is frequently mentioned in the Old Charges. What was difficult was to *prevent* the formation of new Lodges, and to make the outside Lodges, old or new, come under the jurisdiction of Grand Lodge by accepting Constitutions.

Bro. H. POOLE writes:—

I am pleased to see my last paper referred to so often by Bro. Vibert, because this gives the impression (though doubtless all the material which I brought forward was already known to him) of a progressive development of the subject, which is all to the good. I am sure many of us, if we would take some recent paper of someone else, and make it the starting point for a fresh adventure of our own, might go ahead even better than we do at present.

With regard to the 'Magister caementarius' at York, I daresay many Brethren do not know that as early as 1472 the York Rolls refer also to a 'Gardianus logii Cementariorum' (Warden of the Masons' Lodge). In that year William Hyndeley, who occupied that position, temporarily filled the post of 'magistratus cementariorum,' and was later promoted to that office. It looks as

if the Master and his Warden were the persons referred to as the "principalis et secundarius cementarius, qui vocantur magistri eorumdem" (first and second Masons who are called Masters).

On the subject of the giving of two degrees on the same evening, I have examined the records of Union Lodge, No. 129, Kendal (started 1764). There is no record of any ceremony except admission until Nov., 1787, when both passing and raising appear for the first time. From that date it was the rare exception *not* to go through all three degrees; but, oddly enough, it was decidedly the rule for some years to give the *second and third* degrees on the same night.

These are minor points; I have one more important matter to refer to.

I am in full agreement with Bro. Vibert as to the nature of the 'first degree' as practised in the early days of G.L., if he still holds the view which he stated explicitly in the Prestonian Lecture for 1925. There, speaking of the two operative degrees, he says: "The speculatives made these two occasions into one; they would proceed at once on admission to full membership." The two speculative steps, then, as originally practised, must have been:—

- (i.) Apprentice and Fellow.
- (ii.) What we now call Master.

It is a curious question how the title of 'Fellow' became associated with the *second* step. "The Craft," as Bro. Vibert says in this paper, ". . . had apparently to a great extent obliterated all distinctions between the Fellow and the Master"; and in 1723 the two steps, though doubtless containing the same material in the same arrangement, were called:

- (i.) Apprentice.
- (ii.) Fellow-Craft and Master.

To the question how this came about, the answer that suggests itself to me is that there was no special name for the esoteric second step of the speculative. The term 'Fellow' implied a complete freedom of the Craft; and so might naturally be used by the speculative who had taken all the available degrees; while the title of Master had normally been reserved for a 'presiding officer' in a Lodge, and was therefore not available, as indicated in the footnote to Ancient Charge IV. in the *B. of C.*, to which Bro. Vibert has drawn attention.

Again, the London Company was denominated the "Fellowship of Masons" until early in the sixteenth century; and it is quite possible that the name persisted, though not used officially. It is to this connection that I would be inclined to ascribe the f.p.o.f., which, as Bro. Vibert points out, is 'an essential incident of the Master's Part,' although according to our traditional history it was employed by Fellow-Crafts on a certain occasion.

Parenthetically, I wonder if Bro. Vibert has noticed the rather striking juxtaposition of questions in the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, which almost suggests a tendency to transfer the f.p.o.f. from the Master to the Fellow:—

Are yow a fellow-Craft? Yes.
How many Points of fellowship are there?
five, vizt. 1st. foot to foot . . . &c.

I do not know whether this should be regarded as significant.

To return to the point; however it came about, there can be no doubt that the name of 'Fellow' which properly belonged to the first speculative step, in course of time became attached to the second.

This being the case, the procedure between 1723 and 1725 seems to be easily explained along lines which Bro. Vibert appears reluctant to admit. It was then less than sixty years after the Great Fire of London, an event which must have drawn thousands of operatives to London, and perhaps indirectly led to the formation of Grand Lodge. And there may well have been many Masons,

both operative and speculative, still living, who remembered that the first step was really a double one, and actually conferred the degree of Fellow. And so to say that "the Craft *introduced* a Chair degree" seems to me to be an incorrect statement: I should say that the Craft *restored* the old system, by re-dividing "the one degree they could confer," and transferred back the traditional title of Fellow (or rather Fellow-Craft) to its proper place in the second half of the divided step. The name was not, as Bro. Vibert suggests, *chosen* for this new degree, but was the name which it had always borne, until recent speculative practice had obscured its significance. To what extent, if at all, the material was *correctly* re-divided, if, indeed, there really was any of the old material left from the original second, is another question, upon which I do not propose to touch.

This view of the case seems to me to simplify matters considerably; and it goes further, and solves Bro. Vibert's last problem—why the Ancients adopted the re-arranged system instead of going right back to the earlier two degrees. Surely it may well have been because the Craft as a whole recognised the re-arrangement of 1723-5 as a genuine restoration and not as an innovation.

Bro. J. WALTER HOBBS writes:—

Freemasonry has been described as a Jewel with many facets, a term which can be applied to Bro. Vibert's Paper, which it is impossible to read without being lured aside to investigate some point of the greatest interest, but not directly affecting the theory put forward.

At the outset I may say that I am generally in accord with Bro. Vibert's conclusions, not only from the arguments he puts forward but from other materials which I have considered, yet in order to make some of the points Bro. Vibert has brought forward more clear in their bearing on the subject under discussion, I think he should re-consider and amplify some of his generalisations. In saying this I do not forget that he is dealing with the theory only in broad outline and that many details have perforce had to be omitted. My suggestions must therefore not be taken as complaints or even criticisms but as offered in the spirit of the concluding paragraph of the paper.

One of the crucial points in Bro. Vibert's case is the underlying motives for the formation of a new organisation in 1717. The preliminary remarks as to the nature of the Craft in Operative days seem to need extension. While there is no question that the titles (not Degrees) of Master, Fellow and Apprentice were known from very early times it is also true that in the old Craft the titles of Warden, and of Keeper of the Works, were known. There was also the Clerk of the Works, or *Clericus Operis*, who had power to enter the Lodge, certainly while a workroom, although he was in many cases a non-Operative. Some of these it is true became of high standing as Masters of the Works. The point I wish to emphasize on this is that the term Warden, and the association of non-Operatives, was familiar from early times.

Again, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries many instances occur of the grant of new Charters to the City Companies. That of the Masons Company was granted in 1677 and is an example of the method adopted to avoid extinction. Another instance may be mentioned on the subject of the terms contained in some at least of such Grants, *viz.*, the Grant to the Fan Makers Company (1709) provided that the limit of its jurisdiction was "the Cities of London and Westminster and 20 miles round the same."

These points, baldly stated as they are, will I think go to support Bro. Vibert's conclusion that "the Society proposed to form themselves into an unofficial City Company." It is difficult to assume that any body of operative Masons, or accepted Masons, could have obtained a Charter in the face of the then recent Grant to the body which undoubtedly came down from 1472 or earlier. Therefore our predecessors adopted old titles for its members, and acquiesced in the inclusion of non-Operatives, as both derived from ancient times.

They set themselves a limit similar in effect to that being imposed in Grants—the Cities of London and Westminster at first—with the Bills of Mortality added soon after—practically agreed with the Fan Makers Company limit.

But what I think is the most important point is the proof of the fact that there were but two Degrees, *viz.*, Apprentice and Master, which latter was a convertible term for Fellow or Fellow-Craft. It is here that more light is needed. Reading Bro. Poole's paper (*A.Q.C.* xxxvii.) against Bro. Vibert's, one sees what a whirl of varied titles are used in the MSS. to which the former refers. If one accepts the *Masons Examination* as an authority of even small value for the titles of the Craftsmen in 1723 we see these are said to be (p. 18)—I give the lines and not names only:—

“ An Enter'd Mason I have been ” (presumably E.App:)

“ A Fellow I was sworn most rare

“ I know the Masters Part full well

“ Then the Master says:

“ If a Master Mason you would be

“ Observe you well the Rule of Three.”

Elsewhere the titles used are Master-Mason, Fellow-Mason, Fellow-Craft, Right Mason, Perfect Mason. Further, in the answers to the question what makes a perfect Lodge? (p. 19), we find the Brethren divided into Masters (in number 7, 4, 2, 1), Fellows, Fellow-Crafts (2, 5, 19), Entered Prentices, Apprentices (5, 2, 7, 3, 13), and Right and Perfect Masons (5, or 7).

What can be made of all these? Bro. Poole's suggestion (p. 27) is one which might well be further explored to meet the present difficulty, *viz.*, that there might have been two degrees, although not the same degrees, worked by the Operatives and by the Speculatives. Bro. Vibert has, however, adopted the method of Alexander with the knot of Gordius and severed the tangle with one sweep—“ the system which came forward into the Grand Lodge era was a system of two degrees.” But is it not open to argument that there were at first many degrees ultimately sorted out into three by the time the final ascendancy of the Speculatives was effected? The elaboration of this possible contention will be too great to include in this note, but it deserves consideration. One word more on this point. May it not be said that the sequence in the titles given in the *Masons Examination* when considered in conjunction with the lines I have omitted (read in couplets) shows the process was one of three degrees, or at least steps, *viz.*: (1) Enter'd Mason; (2) Fellow, sworn; (3) Masters Part given; and (4) Master Mason, to obtain which he is told what to observe and what will make him “ free ” to acquire. If this process applied to Speculatives in 1723 it can well be understood that they wanted some more easily worked process.

The position in regard to Anderson, and the General Regulations may be made clearer by a resumé with the Grand Lodge Minutes in order. This point I mentioned verbally in Lodge:—

Cons. of 1723. G.Reg: XIII. . . . Apprentices must be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here, unless by Dispensation . . .

(*Note.*—G.Reg. XIII. near the end requiring certain officials of Grand Lodge to be Fellow-Crafts. But the “ Master ” where mentioned throughout is clearly the Master of the Lodge.)

Mins. of G.L. 27th Novr. 1725

A Motion being made that Such part of the 13th article of the Gen^l. Regulations relating to the Making of Mar^s. only at a Quarterly Communication may be repealed, And that

Mar^s. of Each Lodge with the Consent of his Wardens, And the Majority of the Brethren being Mar^s. may make Mar^s. at their Discretion.

Agreed Nem. Con.

(*Note.*—Here Masters only are mentioned—not Fellow-Crafts, and that the consent of the Wardens and Brethren *being Masters* became necessary to making Masters.)

Anderson in 1738 either misunderstood the state of affairs or mis-stated them.

Cons. of 1738. Old G.Reg: XIII. is stated as in 1723 above
New G.Reg: XIII. par 2.

On 22 Nov. 1725. The *Master* of a Lodge with his *Wardens* and a competent number of the Lodge assembled in due form, can make *Masters* and *Fellows* at Discretion.

(*Note.*—Here he gives the wrong date of the G.L. meeting and adds the "Fellows" and mis-states the requirement laid down for the consent of those who are Masters.

At the end of the Old G.Reg: XIII. as given in 1738 he has mis-stated the qualification for the particular Officials as in 1723 "Fellow-Craft" and substitutes in the Old Reg: here the qualification of "Master-Mason" for which there appears no authority but his own. How does this compare, and affect his insertion of the explanation of the status of the "oldest Master Mason" at the formation of Grand Lodge as "(now the *Master* of a *Lodge*)"?)

Out of this series of variations of terms it may possibly be argued that what Grand Lodge aimed at in 1725 was the "making of a Master of a Lodge" from the Fellow-Crafts, and that Anderson's mis-statements were an endeavour to bring back an earlier procedure than that laid down by G.L. in 1725. Whether this is the explanation or not, Bro. Vibert reads "Masters" and "Fellow-Crafts" as convertible terms, yet this would not be necessary if his view that only two Degrees came forward to Grand Lodge, is substantiated. The evolution of three degrees would not then be adversely affected but strengthened.

I feel that in a matter of this kind it is not possible to lay down a hard and fast line, on one side of which is the old system whatever it was, and on the other side the new system whatever it became. It was an evolution.

I may add that the foregoing observations are made solely with the desire to ventilate the subject and not by way of captious or other criticism. Bro. Vibert has gone far to clear up a most uncertain and nebulous period and procedure, and I concur to the full in the thanks and appreciation accorded to him.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The necessity for Bro. Vibert's hypothesis is solely due to the supposition that Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 prove the existence of two degrees only, and these suddenly developed into three or more degrees the following year. The *Verus Commodus* letter of 1725 suggests that at least five degrees were then known. I do not believe in this development and therefore have no use for the hypothesis.

The acception was still a part of the London Company of Masons when the influx of operatives took place after the Great Fire. These operatives would be made freemen by means of the acception. The Charter of 1677, renewed by James II., destroyed the old form of the London Company, but in 1690 an Act was passed which declared that all Charters granted under a *quo warranto* were null and void and the citizens were restored to their ancient privileges.

I suggest that as an ancient privilege the journeymen or yeomen at work at St. Paul's met in 1691. They were the accepted Masons of Aubrey's note. The survivors and associates of these operatives arranged the meeting of 1717, when Antony Sayer occupied the chair. The traditions of the Fellows and Masters had come down through other channels, and it was from these latter sources that our present Freemasonry developed. In the London Companies the Guilds of Journeymen or Yeomanry were under Masters and Wardens who were of the Fellowship, and if the modern Masons were journeymen this would agree with Anderson's statement that the Master must be among the Fellows. O.R. XIII. was an attempt to bring about the old relationship between the Yeomen and the Fellows.

That the modern Mason was not a Fellow there is ample proof. The *Ph. Mus. et Arch. Soc.* in 1725 conferred the degree of Fellow on a modern Mason, while in 1768 the Bolton Lodge crafted and raised three modern Masons. In the ordinary course such Lodges, whatever their warrant, did not *make* modern Masons. Their initiate became a Fellow by the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft ceremony, usually given on the night of initiation. Such a ceremony, derived from the Freemasons (the Fellows and Masters), eventually swamped the modern or yeoman working. A certain amount of fusion took place, however, and this accounts for some of the inconsistencies of modern ritual. The struggle was between the accepted Masons and the Freemasons. I very much doubt whether a free and accepted Mason existed before the Entered Apprentice Song. The term is correctly used in the plural and signifies the Freemasons and accepted Masons, or the Master and Fellows and the Freemen or Yeomen.

Bro. THOS. M. CARTER *writes*:—

In his vivid and forceful manner Bro. Vibert has given us a statement of the conditions obtaining in the early Grand Lodge era, for which we must all feel admiration and gratitude: and were it not urgently necessary that this discussion should be conducted with brevity, it would be a grateful task to enlarge upon that aspect of his paper.

But this paper is a resumé of the arguments he uses in his Prestonian Lectures for 1925 and 1926, and remembering the importance and widespread influence of those pronouncements it is necessary that it should be submitted to the closest scrutiny and the most unsparing criticism, and we know that Bro. Vibert's integrity as a Masonic historian is such that he would wish only that his theory should be established after such ordeals.

The early pages of his paper are delightful, just a hint here and there of the peculiar tinting that is subsequently to be given to this fact or that, but after that he takes a run, as Dr. Stukeley might say, aye, and a long jump, and well,—he is not so easy to follow,—and unfortunately it is in the pursuit of his main thesis that these athletic exercises occur.

I propose to consider the Theory propounded under the following inquiries:—

1. Has it an inherent probability?
2. Has the evidence adduced needed any special manipulation in order to make it support the Theory?
3. Have any other circumstances been disregarded which might afford evidence for or against it?

Stated briefly, the Theory put forward is that "what was a Two degree system in 1723 had become a Trigradal System within the next two years" through the introduction of a Chair degree, deliberately designed "by a device" to take the place of "The Master's Part," and so annul the Rule of Grand Lodge that this ceremony could not be given elsewhere.

1. Is there a probability that such was the course of events? Two difficulties at once arise.

- (a) The short time for effecting such a change which is stated to have become "practically universally adopted" and
- (b) The sources from which the change emanated.

With regard to (a) Time. Article XIII. of 1723 may have had operative effect from Payne's rules of 1721, but the later date must be taken as the critical one; to hold otherwise is simply to ignore, for convenience of argument, the responsibility of Grand Lodge for its own actions.

So 1723 is the earliest date for this organised intrigue, which was to result in the resolution of Nov. 27th, 1725.

The earliest reference to "this new degree" is in 1725—certain brethren being "passed Fellow Crafts" at a Lodge held "before we founded the Society" on Feb. 18th, 1725.

All the changes, then, not only of ritual, but in the attitude of the Lodges towards their own regulations, may have had to be effected in one year.

- (b) The Sources.

The system may have originated in the Lodges owing allegiance to Grand Lodge, or in those outside its jurisdiction. Bro. Vibert's argument is that the movement occurred within the Grand Lodge. But, if originating outside Grand Lodge, what motive had they to get round an awkward Rule of Grand Lodge with which they had no concern? And, if originating within Grand Lodge, why should they seek such a way of getting out of a position that they could have put an end to at any time?

I think it must be admitted in view of these simple considerations that probability is against the Theory, and that it can only be accepted if evidence of the most unequivocal kind is brought forward to convince us that this was indeed the course of events, against the improbabilities we find inherent.

2. Does the evidence adduced need any special manipulation in order to make it support the Theory? I think we must find that it does.

- (a) There are subtle suggestions tending to increase the time available for the change.

The fact that Payne's rules may have been the same as Article XIII. of two years later is stressed, without pointing out that if the Lodges had so early reacted against those rules they would never have embodied them in the Article of 1723.

The fact that the earliest mention of the new Fellow Craft Degree is in the *Philo Musicae Minutes* of 1725 is mentioned, but the awkward admission of so late a start for the movement is avoided by the easy but entirely negative statement, "we have no ground for supposing that this was the first occasion, when the degree was given, or that it was the invention of the Brethren of this Society."

- (b) The position arising from the necessity of forming new Lodges is stressed as one "entirely unknown to Masonry" (not only to G.L.).

It is true that New Lodges formed under the aegis of a Grand Lodge were necessarily a new feature, but was this so essentially different from the swarming of Lodges that had occurred before? Can it be maintained, as stated, that, "The very conception of a New Lodge was one which the Society would find it very difficult to entertain"?

- (c) Bro. Vibert admits that "almost certainly there were . . . other Lodges in London who took no part in the movement" for the formation of Grand Lodge: later he speaks of

Masonry "coming among them" in the Provinces "as a new thing," and the general trend of his argument is rather to diminish the strength of Masonry outside the jurisdiction of the newly formed Grand Lodge.

But are we not gradually realising the probability that this unattached element in Masonry was of very considerable extent and importance?

The fact that so large a number of copies of the Old Charges are of a post Grand Lodge date would tend to show that there were still bodies of Masons about the Country, who worked under the Authority of an authenticated Copy of these ancient documents, and did not consider it necessary to seek any other. It is scarcely likely that a body of Masons working under the Authority of Grand Lodge would go to the expense of procuring such a copy.

- (d) Referring to the Lodges in the Provinces it is stated "it is obvious that no one would go about to found a Lodge in, for instance, Caermarthen if they had to send their Master-Elect and Wardens up to London every time to receive their Master's Part from Grand Lodge.

The inference is inevitable that the Rule had become a dead letter. But in that case what was the position of the Brother Installed as a Master of the Lodge?"

This is presented as an argument for the opinion that "the Craft had introduced a Chair Degree," etc.

Another answer to Bro. Vibert's conundrum might fairly be that since the Rule was admittedly a dead letter—the provincial Brethren would have no compunction whatever in continuing to confer the traditional "Master's Part."

But the sentence which most makes one hope that no evidence will ever be found sufficient to establish Bro. Vibert's Theory as a true statement of the facts of this interesting period of the History of our Craft, then follows:—"They were then free to instal as their Master any brother who possessed the new qualification without the necessity of a reference to central authority." In other words, they juggled with their Masonic consciences by accepting the name of a qualification when they knew that the essentials of the qualification were not conferred.

- (e) We are told:—"The Grand Lodge might be expected to view with disfavour persons who by a device were evading its regulations"—then—"the Grand Lodge was only the Lodges themselves in Council"—then—"if in fact the Majority of the Lodges had adopted the new method, it was a simple thing for them to alter the law."

Surely, equally, if they had *not* adopted the method, but had gone on their old ways, realising that the Rule was impracticable and should be ignored, they could have annulled it.

The fact that it was annulled does nothing to prove the substitution of the new Fellow Craft for the Master's Part.

- (f) On the difficult point of the method of dissemination we have only "Everyone in the narrow Circle would have ample opportunity to hear of so important a development and its advantages being so obvious, to adopt it,"—just before, it was a device for evading its Regulations which Grand Lodge (*i.e.*, the same Lodges, though now in Council, who were so alive to its advantages) might be expected to view with disfavour.

And—"when somewhere about this time, a new arrangement of degrees had been devised, and met with general approval,"—and "a system which was within a very short time practically unanimously adopted."

I think it must be admitted that the inherently improbable Theory has been supported by evidence which has needed special manipulation and special pleading to give it apparent validity.

3. But have any circumstances been disregarded which may afford evidence for or against the Theory?

It is not within my competency fully to answer so wide a question,—and it may be that this discussion may lead to the disclosure of some other facts which lend support to Bro. Vibert's Theory, but frankly I know of none, while there are other facts—some of which are mentioned in his own paper—whose weight is against it.

Bro. Vibert refers to the "course of events by which the two degrees known to the Craft became a system of three, a system which was within a very short time practically universally adopted."

But does that represent the facts? He himself gives instances of a Continuance of the Two degree system, he cites the fact that the 1767 *B. of C.* refers to "making and raising a Mason"—the old phrase of the Two degree period, and he refers to the Combined Tracing Board of 1790.

There is abundant evidence from Minutes of many Lodges throughout the century that a Two degree system was persisting in many places—for it is straining the point to say that always when the expressions "made Masons" and "rose Masters" were used the Trigradal System was really being referred to, but the first two Degrees cited as one.

The evidence appears to lead strongly to the opinion that there was parallel working of the two systems for many years—and that the promulgation of the Trigradal System was very slow.

And it would appear, however, that in its wisdom the G.L. of 1767 recognised this, and used phrases which, while applicable to the old system, did not exclude the interpretation of those who regarded the "making" as comprising two distinct ceremonies.

Bro. Vibert cites the fact that the Old Charges mention the three grades of Apprentice, Fellow and Master—Bro. Poole has suggested a "telescoping" process in the presentation of Masonic ritual to the early Speculatives in an Operative Lodge.

The early researches of Grand Lodge were engaged in finding "a new and better method" out of the mass of heterogeneous material available to them. Dr. Desaguliers, visiting Edinburgh as a stranger in 1721, was "accepted in all points of Masonry"—and three special ceremonies arranged during his visit. It was formerly roundly asserted that he took with him from London the newly-fabricated Third Degree in all its details—a theory long since refuted. Is it not probable that during this visit to Scotland he learned as much as he taught? not only as to the status of a Fellow Craft, but other matters then exercising the minds of the leaders of Grand Lodge.

Undoubtedly the conditions under which New Lodges could be formed, and adherence still given to a Mother Lodge could be studied there, for Edinburgh had done it, and Kilwinning had done it, years before—and possibly some conceptions may have been gained of how the "telescoping" process might be again reversed. Be that as it may—there appears to be more likelihood of such a change occurring slowly on deliberately arranged philosophical lines, than that it should have originated as Bro. Vibert suggests.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES writes:—

I feel quite sure that all Masonic Students will welcome the paper that Bro. Vibert has read to us this evening, whether they agree or disagree with his conclusions. In his paper Bro. Vibert, before dealing with his theory concerning the second degree, considers at some length certain facts bearing upon

that theory. As to some of the statements he makes in this part of his paper I should like to join issue with him.

First, Bro. Vibert suggests that in 1717 "the office of Master of the Lodge was unknown." In support of this statement he quotes Anderson's version of these inaugural meetings. Bro. Vibert asks us to assume that the words, "now the Master of a Lodge," refer to 1738 and not to 1717. If the subsequent entries by Anderson are considered it will be seen that he uses the word "now" upon several occasions in the sense of "then." In 1719 he says, "Now several old Brothers," &c. In 1720, referring to the Deputy Grand Master, he says, "now found as necessary as formerly." In 1722 he states that he produced the *Constitutions*, "now in print," and he also states, "now Masonry flourished in Harmony." Also, the use by Anderson of the present tense for the past tense can be traced in other expressions made use of. In 1720 he says "this year at some private Lodges." All these quotations—and others might be given—negative the construction put upon the word "now" by Bro. Vibert. But to clinch the matter there is a reference to the "oldest Master Mason" in Anderson's account of the meeting of the 24th June, 1722, in which he states, in obvious contrast to the 1717 statement, "they put in the chair the Oldest Master Mason (who was not the present Master of a Lodge also irregular)." Upon this evidence I submit that the expression "now," used in the account of the two inaugural Meetings, refers to the year 1717, and that, therefore, contrary to Bro. Vibert's contention, Anderson speaks of the Office of Master of a Lodge as then in existence.

In the *Sloane MS.* 3329 reference is specifically made to "the Master" and to "the Wardens." The Records of Alnwick Lodge make mention of "the Master and Wardens." Also, in Scotland, these terms were familiar, not only in the years immediately preceding 1717, but also in the seventeenth century. We know that in 1717 the Officers of the new Organization for London became known as the Grand Master and Grand Wardens. I cannot see how this could have been in imitation of the London City Companies, because none of these City Companies had Officers designated "Grand." Most of them were simply "the Master and Wardens." If, therefore, as Bro. Vibert asserts, there were no Masters or Wardens of private Lodges in 1717 there would have been no reason why, if the City Companies were being imitated, the officers of this new Masonic Organization should not have been similarly designated. But if, as I have suggested, there were at that time Masters and Wardens of private Lodges the new Officers would naturally become "Grand Master" and "Grand Wardens," to distinguish them from the Master and Wardens of private Lodges.

Bro. Vibert places no credence in the statements by Anderson that, in 1719, "more new Lodges were constituted," or that, in 1721, "Payne Grand Master observing the Number of Lodges to encrease," or that, on the 24th June, 1721, "the Masters and Wardens of 12 Lodges met the Grand Master Elect." He is, however, quite willing to accept Anderson's statements as to the number of Lodges present at Quarterly Communications from 1723 onwards, although there is no confirmatory evidence to support these figures until the 19th December, 1727. I think that Bro. Vibert has failed to give sufficient weight to a piece of independent contemporary evidence, which in the opinion of some Masonic Students was deliberately supplied to the Press from an authoritative quarter. This piece of evidence is from the *Post Boy* of June 24th to 27th, 1721, which has a paragraph describing the Annual Feast at Stationers Hall, and alludes to the presence "of between two and three hundred of the ancient Fraternity of Free-Masons." This more than supports the statement by Anderson in the *Constitutions* of 1723, that the Regulations were "proposed by the Grand Lodge to about 150 Brethren, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1721," and the further statement by Anderson, in the *Constitutions* of 1738, that in addition to the Grand Officers with "the former Grand Officers, and the Master and Wardens of 12 Lodges" there were "about 150 true and faithful" at the Annual Feast on the 24th June, 1721. Provided, therefore, the figures given by the *Post Boy*

are correct, and we accept Bro. Vibert's contention that there were only four Lodges, each Lodge must have had a membership of at least 75, if we allow for absentees at the Feast. But such a membership Bro. Vibert has considered impossible, for he limits the average membership of a Lodge to about 40 at the most. If, however, there were at least 12 Lodges in existence, in 1721, as indicated by Anderson, an average membership of 25 per Lodge would not be unreasonable. We know, as a fact, that the average membership of the 36 Lodges which sent in Lists of Members in 1723 was 20. Just because only four or five Lodges can be identified as being in existence in 1721 there is no reason why others should not have been in existence at that date. Five of the 20 Lodges whose Officers signed the Approbation to the *Constitutions* of 1723 have not been identified, and there are grounds for supposing that in additions the Officers of some Lodges did not sign.

Bro. Vibert, in dealing with the provisions for the internal administration of new Lodges, contained in the *Constitutions* of 1723, cites the Resolution passed by Grand Lodge on the 25th November, 1723, that the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly Meetings. I suggest that this Resolution did not operate to annul any of the Regulations as to private Lodges, but was definitely aimed at extending Regulation 39 of the *Constitutions* of 1723, which gave to the Annual Grand Assembly, and to that Assembly only, inherent power and Authority to make new Regulations, or to alter the existing ones, providing that "the Approbation and Consent of the Majority of all the Brethren present being absolutely necessary to make the same binding and obligatory." This meant all those present at the Annual Assembly and Feast, even Entered Apprentices. By November, 1723, the number of the Brethren had grown considerably—there were then about 1,000—and it was, I suggest, on that account that it was deemed necessary to transfer the power in question to the Grand Lodge sitting in Quarterly Communication. It did not thereby annul any Regulations, but only altered the method to be adopted when it was desired, in the future, to make new Regulations, or to alter existing Regulations.

With regard to the now famous clause in Regulation 13 of the *Constitutions* of 1723, for which Bro. Vibert contends that Payne was responsible, although he admits that much of the rest of this Regulation must have been Anderson. For my part I cannot see why even this clause should not have been inserted by Anderson, in fact an interpolation by him, after the original Regulation had been framed. I suggest that the Regulation, as originally prepared by Payne, ran thus:—

"At the said Quarterly Communication, all Matters that concern the Fraternity in general, or particular Lodges, or single Brethren, are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discours'd of and transacted: Here also all Differences, that cannot be made up and accommodated privately, nor by a particular Lodge, are to be seriously considered and decided:" &c.

The fact that this clause was formally repealed in 1725 does not of necessity indicate that Payne was responsible for it. It would be equally necessary if Anderson had incorporated it in the earlier set of articles with the consent of Grand Lodge, or even without it. Anderson, in the *Constitutions* of 1723, gives the manner of Constituting a new Lodge, and attributes it to the Duke of Wharton. It may be that this Clause was in consequence of the custom of the Master and Wardens of new Lodges being approved by the Grand Master, after the Deputy had examined them and before they were installed. It may even have been designed to keep a check on the appointment of the subsequent Officers of these Lodges.

Bro. Vibert, although referring to the Grand Master's power of dispensation contained in the Clause, has not apparently fully appreciated it, as in one part of his paper he says that there was "no delegation of the power to confer the Master's Part." There clearly was, whether it was ever exercised or not,

and the Grand Master could grant a dispensation under this Clause in the same manner as he could and did grant dispensations for the constitution of Lodges outside London.

With regard to this transitional period—1723-1725—there is an interesting contemporary record showing but two degrees in Norwich. In a MS. Volume entitled "*Acta Norvicensia*," written by William Massey, of Norwich, and commenced in 1720, there is an account of the Constitution of the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, under date "May 1724." In the course of this account William Massey writes:—

"We know little of their Designs or Institutes . . . However I had it from their own mouths very gravely, yt. they have certain signs by which they can know one Another in any part of Europe without speaking a word, and that the Masters have likewise a peculiar Sign to themselves, unknown to the Junior Fellows."

(*A.Q.C.* xv., 176.)

It is impossible to say whether Massey refers to the Masters of Lodges, or to Master Masons. The reference to the Junior Fellows is quite interesting, and suggests that the term "Fellow" must not always be considered as another term for Master, but was very frequently used alternatively for a Mason or Brother.

The Haughfoot Minute and the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* clearly point to there being two degrees at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that these two degrees were given separately. Both accounts have, however, a strong Scottish impress, and it may have been that, at the period in question, these accounts related to Scottish Masonry, and that English and Scottish Masonry then differed. In Scotland the Lodges were still dealing with Operative Masons, and it is perfectly understandable that there should have been, in these Lodges, two separate ceremonies, dealing with Apprentices and Fellows respectively. In England, however, Symbolical Masonry had taken the place of Operative Masonry to a great extent, and there was in consequence no necessity for any probationary period as an Apprentice. A telescoping of the two operative degrees into one Symbolical degree, or Ceremony, is, therefore, well within the bounds of possibility. Ashmole was made a Freemason at Warrington, in October, 1646, and left the Town the same month. No reference is made in his Diary to Masonry until the note as to the Meeting at Mason's Hall, London, in March, 1682, occurs, when he states that he is the "senior fellow amongst them." Would not Ashmole have recorded the fact if he had received a further degree? If, however, his Masonic activities were merely that of attending Meetings, then we might well expect omissions from his Diary, and only such an outstanding event inserted as that of 1682, when the Master of the Mason's Company was present, and Sir William Wilson was "admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons." In the York records there is no hint of more than one ceremony, brethren being, in 1712, "sworne and admitted." The *Sloane MS.* 3329 does not suggest more than one ceremony, although the Master's Word is given at the time of making. Again, in *A Mason's Examination* the first portion of it contains the explanation given to the Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master as if in one ceremony, and at which ceremony the giving of the Master's Word to the brother being made is also indicated. It is only in the catechism at the end that there is a reference to the Entered Prentice and Entered Fellow, perhaps a relic of operative days when the two degrees were given separately as shown by the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, &c.

Is it really clear that Bro. Vibert is correct in his assertion that Payne decided to recognize and to legalize the formation of new Lodges, and that until the 24th June, 1721, "the Craft had no experience of New Lodges." I have already dealt with the number of Lodges and of Brethren at that date, both of which seem to negative Bro. Vibert's contention; but further I see no reason why Payne's Regulation upon this matter should not have been designed to prevent the continued formation of new Lodges independently of the Grand Lodge Organization, and not for the purpose suggested by Bro. Vibert. In the

Grand Lodge Minutes we have complaints of Lodges being formed without permission, and I submit that the *new feature* was not the formation of new Lodges, which I suggest was happening from time to time, but the Constitution of such newly-formed Lodges by the Grand Master of the new Grand Lodge Organization.

Bro. Vibert's main theory is that the Second, or Fellow Craft, Degree was introduced or invented by the London Lodges to get over the Regulations in the *Constitutions* of 1723. It is hard to believe that these London Lodges would, by any such concerted action, take so unconstitutional a step. The only places where the Lodges would meet together would be the Annual Assemblies and the Quarterly Communications. Bro. Vibert admits that "Grand Lodge was only the Lodges themselves in council," and we know that on the 25th November, 1723, Grand Lodge took to themselves extended powers in Quarterly Communications. Surely, therefore, if concerted action was necessary to deal with an existing state of affairs, it is inconceivable that it should be in the way suggested by Bro. Vibert rather than by altering or amending the offending Regulation, a step which we know was taken in November, 1725.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes as follows in "*The Builder*" of February, 1928:—

In the . . . *Evolution of the Second Degree*, the theory advanced in [Bro. Vibert's] first Prestonian Lecture in 1925 [See "*Builder*" May, 1926, p. 157] is further developed. Scholarship, like politics, generally progresses by reactions from one extreme to the other. From an uncritical acceptance of the traditions of the Craft at their face value Masonic students swung round to the position that originally there was but a single form of admission by which men were made Masons, and that this form was so simple and bare that it was hardly correct even to describe it as an initiation. This however was going too far, as this view ignored or unduly minimized a large part of the evidence. Another reaction set in the opposite direction with the theory of two original grades and ceremonies of admission. The first consisted of the entrance or "making," which marked the stage of the apprentice, and the second that of Fellow and Master, by which the apprentice when his time was completed was passed as a Master of his Art and a Fellow of the Fraternity. This theory is now very generally accepted, but it embraces a number of divergent conceptions which roughly fall into two groups: those which suppose the present Third Degree to be an invention introduced about 1725 or 1730, and those which suppose that it was our Second Degree that was invented and inserted between the two older grades, which corresponded in essentials with our First and Third. Bro. Vibert holds the latter view, which again is probably the one most in accord with all the evidence as well as the one most generally held by students. So far, however, no one has suggested any very good reason for the invention or compilation of our present Fellowcraft. The usual view is that it was to fill out a symbolic group of grades or steps, and to complete the analogy with the three ancient ranks in the operative craft. The late R. F. Gould supposed the starting point was all in a misunderstanding of the ambiguous language in Article XIII. of the Regulations in the first *Book of Constitutions*. We may allow full weight to both considerations and yet feel that neither, singly or both together, could really have been sufficient cause. It is the particular merit of Bro. Vibert's lecture that in it he has most ingeniously worked out a definite motive for the framing of a new Second Degree.

In brief, his theory is that it all hinges on the "Old" Regulation XIII., or that particular clause which enacted that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here unless by dispensation," that is only in the Grand Lodge, so that it has the same starting pointing as that of Gould. These Regulations—we did not know how much Anderson "revised" them—were supposed to have been approved by the Grand Lodge, that is by the General

Assembly and Feast of the London Masons in June, 1721. It was about this time that the Fraternity began to rapidly expand in numbers, which brought to the forefront the problem of constituting new Lodges. This problem Bro. Vibert holds necessitated serious innovations, and the way in which it was met he suggests is reflected in certain of the Regulations and in the "Postscript" of the first *Book of Constitutions*, which gives the form of constituting new Lodges, stating it was first used by the Duke of Wharton when Grand Master.

The situation that then arose, so Bro. Vibert thinks, was something as if Masters of Lodges could only be qualified for office in Grand Lodge. The original second grade, Master or Fellow, could only be given in the Grand or General Lodge, and at the same time none but Fellows (or Fellow-Craft as Anderson called them) were eligible to office. It meant that the Grand Lodge could dictate to the private Lodges who they must choose for their Masters and Wardens. This might have caused discontent and in order to evade the Regulation advantage was taken of its ambiguity—it apparently spoke of two things, Master and Fellowcraft. Elsewhere Fellowcraft was stated to be the qualification of office. The old superior grade had been really Master and Fellow, so Anderson's Scotticism was assumed to be something different, and a new qualifying grade was supplied somehow, by someone, out of the original first grade, the Apprentice. Some things were duplicated, others were reserved in the first step and made peculiar to the new second. By the time this clause of Regulation XIII. was repealed, in November, 1725, the new division of the First Degree into two parts had become firmly established, though with the authority to "make Masters at their discretion" the Lodges no longer needed it in order to control their own private affairs.

Attractive as the theory is, especially in offering a real tangible motive for the innovation, yet as the reviewer said in commenting on Bro. Vibert's first Prestonian Lecture, there are a number of gaps in the evidence and the argument. It requires first of all the supposition that Regulation XIII. was actually enforced. We can fully agree "it was none of Anderson's devising" and yet doubt whether it was ever anything but a dead letter.

Of course if it was devised by Payne in order to control the new Lodges it would be natural that there would at least be an attempt to enforce it; but suppose it was only the embodiment of a traditional belief that originally apprentices were made free and passed as Masters and became Fellows only at a general meeting (or Lodge) of the whole Craft in the district, we could imagine that while everyone agreed it was proper and right, yet the inconvenience on the one hand and habit on the other united to make it inoperative from the first; and that it was finally repealed merely because it was unenforced and unenforceable. While it is true that the fact that the Grand Lodge Minutes make no mention of any "passings" does not prove anything—negative evidence never proves anything absolutely except under practically impossible conditions—it may give rise to a strong presumption. And in this case the presumption seems very strong indeed that if apprentices were passed Masters in Grand Lodge their names would have been recorded, because this would qualify them for office, both in the private Lodges and in the Grand Lodge itself. At the very least this silence leaves the question open.

Another point that it is not easy to give assent to is the suggestion that it was a complete innovation, in and about London, to form new Lodges. Even granting that no new Lodges had been formed within the personal knowledge of the London Masons of 1716-1720, yet it is hard to believe that they were not all fully aware of the tradition that any seven, or perhaps five, Masons could form a Lodge. Indeed it could be argued that Dr. Stukeley was initiated by a casual Lodge having no permanent existence. This is at least as good an inference from his statement that "We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony" as the one Bro. Vibert draws from his mention, in recording the meeting in June, 1719, that Grand Master Payne "read over a new sett of articles to be observ'd," which is that these articles (or regulations) were imposed "on Grand Lodge by his (Payne's) own authority,"

and that we may doubt if the Grand Lodge had even then "assumed any administrative functions." Strictly speaking to approve and adopt new regulations would be legislative and not administrative.

Nor again can we accept without question that the phrase in Regulation I. (as it appears in the first edition of the Constitutions) "Any true lodge" implies that in 1722 the Grand Lodge was already regarding all groups of Masons who had not submitted to it as rebellious and clandestine. The phrase "true and perfect" appears in several of the old Catechisms in place of the more general "just and perfect" as the description of the Lodge, and in the *Dumfries Kilwinning MS.* No. 4, Anderson's phrase appears exactly, "the true lodge of St. John." It is just as valid to argue that it was another Scottish phrase which Anderson used quite naturally, and the fact that it was left out in the second edition might possibly be taken as confirming such a view.

The confusion in the use of familiar terminology which for us has stereotyped significance but which in the early eighteenth century was not only differently employed but also fluid in its meaning does indeed make the task of interpreting the scattered references left to us very difficult. The paper by Bro. Herbert Poole (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxvii.) is referred to as suggesting that perhaps there were two systems in existence previous to 1716, an Operative and a Speculative. It depends on what is to be understood by system in this connection. If it is to be taken that the speculative Lodges employed forms and ceremonies that had no counterpart among the Operatives we must confess that we do not so understand Bro. Poole. We should understand his position to be that the speculative tended to amalgamate the two original grades into one and to make their candidates Fellows at once, thus in effect eliminating the Apprentices grade. Undoubtedly there were wide variations in usage then as there are now, and if this be all that is intended the statement can be accepted, but hardly if we are to understand that there were essential differences between the two classes of Lodges.

Bro. Poole's theories seem to be a development of those advanced by Speth long ago, while those of Bro. Vibert in some respects carry on the hypothesis of Gould. On the whole with each new rearrangement of the evidence we seem to be getting nearer to some general conclusion that may be safely accepted. The great merit in Bro. Vibert's work is that he has faced and attempted to answer the question why the original system of two degrees should have been expanded into three.

Bro. VIBERT writes, in reply:—

It was unavoidable that the paper itself should cover a good deal of ground before the main thesis was developed, and the criticisms have, as a consequence, dealt with a variety of matters, all of which cannot possibly be now discussed at length, if this reply is to be kept within reasonable limits. But the whole discussion brings out in a striking manner the fact that for the period before 1725, or even 1730, the material as yet available is such that we can base on it only tentative suggestions. As Bro. Hobbs says, between what went before and what followed after we can draw no hard and fast line; it was a period of evolution. In the gilds themselves the exact status of the masters is still not clear, for we do not know that they had an inner circle of their own, with esoteric features, though we may suspect it. In the transition period it appears as though the non-operatives worked a different system from the trade members, and used their terminology in a different sense. Bros. Hobbs and Poole have brought out the extreme confusion of that terminology and the result is that we cannot now be certain what precise meaning attached to the terms Master and Fellow during the period.

As to what came forward into G.L. days, I have done my best to analyse the material collected in Bro. Poole's paper in *A.Q.C.* xxxvii., and to reconsider it in the light of the criticisms then made, and the various suggestions

now offered. It is difficult to use words that will not be liable to convey a wrong impression. Bro. Tuckett has well brought out the difficulty even to-day over the word *degree*, since technically the Royal Arch is not a degree at this moment, but in practice to refuse it that description, a description given in the ceremony itself, would be mere pedantry. Most of the brethren agree that there were two steps or stages recognised. Two, however, do not accept even this much. I doubt whether the reference in the *Verus Commodus* Letter to the Fifth Order, to which Bro. Bullamore alludes, can be taken to mean that the Craft as a body recognised five ceremonies. Bro. Hobbs suggests that there was a diversity of degrees which were fused and recast to form the Trigradal System. But the position seems to me to be that the practice had now come to be that there were two distinct sets of secrets, of which the former alone were given to apprentices, but that, as Bro. Poole suggests, the Operatives and Speculatives divided up the material differently. The very terminology varies. The First Step is associated with the Apprentice, and also at times with the Fellow; the Second is associated with the Master, but also with the Fellow. We seem to have the sequence established as Apprentice, Fellow, Master, but it is grouped by one section—possibly the speculatives,—A., F., and then M., and by another,—possibly the trade,—as A., and then F. and M. But with the single exception of the *Masons' Examination* quoted by Bro. Hobbs, the texts brought together by Bro. Poole seem to support the inference that the sequence of three ranks was acquired by two steps. The *Chetwode Crawley* is very clear on this point.

Now my view is that these steps dealt with two distinct types of ceremony. The first was purely symbolic and based on Two Pillars; and that these were in certain cases both communicated to the Apprentice is shown by the evidence assembled by Bro. Poole. The further step was narrative in nature and was associated with a Hiramic Legend, with the f.p.o.f., and with what the *Masons' Examination* speaks of as Honest Maughbin, together with other matters which can be discerned in the *Stanley doggerel*. If the material available in these two steps is designated A., B., then surely it is incontestible that our system to-day is Ai., Aii., B. Obviously this is a matter which can only be enlarged upon in open Lodge. But from a system which consisted of a First Step, whatever its designation, of a symbolic character, and a Second involving a narrative, we have evolved to-day a Trigradal System consisting of two steps which divide the symbolism between them and a third which comprises the narrative with all its accessories.

The position to-day in the English Craft, which has been the position since the first definite appearance of the intermediate degree, is that it is *not* the Master's Degree, the narrative, which constitutes the qualification for Master of the Lodge, but the second portion of the symbolic system. This again is not the practice to-day, but it is the strict letter of the law, and the recollection of it is preserved in our ritual since we still obligate our Master-Elect in the Second Degree. Obviously, this is an anomaly, and how it came about is what we are endeavouring to ascertain. (As to the date when the Third Degree was first taken as the qualification, *vide* Hughan at *A.Q.C.* xxiii., 139; at *A.Q.C.* xv., 43, we find that to require that Wardens should be Master Masons was looked on at Chester in 1773 as an innovation.)

Bro. Tuckett puts forward a different proposal. He suggests that before 1723 the "Master's Part" was an additional ceremony with secrets, sometimes but not always conferred on Fellows, but treated as the qualification for the Master's Chair. The Fellow had arrived at that status by two steps as he does to-day. On becoming Master of a Lodge he had to receive the Master's Part, but if he was not going into the Chair, he might or might not do so. The difficulty in this is that it does not explain what the Fellow's degree consisted of. I do not understand Bro. Tuckett to suggest that it was no more than a repetition of the Apprentice's Acception; and the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* is specific; "To a Master mason or fellow craft there is more to be done."

Actually the text suggests that what is now communicated is a new sign and word, which Apprentices may not be cognizant of. That both of these connote a particular narrative is indicated from other sources. In the catechism it is the "Points of Fellowship" that are the criterion. It is inadvisable to use the word degree in this connection; as pointed out by Bro. Williams it is in fact unknown before Prichard.

The repeated association of the term Fellowship with the further step, and in particular with one specific and important feature of it, appear to me to involve that that second step was concerned with the narrative. Bro. Poole suggests an explanation of what appears to be a transfer of the title Fellow from one section to the other; I return to this.

Before coming to the critical point in the development of the system of degrees, there are still three points to deal with. The first is with regard to the Master of the Lodge. When writing the paper I was not inclined to consider that there was such an officer in our present sense before the days of Grand Lodge, and I still doubt if there was any officer appointed for a specific period, so far as concerns the South of England. Bro. Tuckett has reminded us that the Lodge in the eighteenth century usually meant no more than the individual meeting; and that would seem to have been presided over by the "Oldest Master" or "Senior Fellow" present. But elsewhere in his remarks Bro. Tuckett speaks of Lodges of a more permanent nature. Gould many years ago (*Four Old Lodges*, p. 46) suggested the term *Stated Lodges* to indicate bodies that had settled down into a more regular existence; but it has not found favour. I think that in London there were several of them; that Anderson in 1738 refers to traditions of seven besides the Four Old Lodges I have mentioned in the paper itself. The question then arises, had they regular Masters? Bro. Daynes interprets the passage in the 1738 Anderson, as to the meetings of 1716 and 1717, to mean that they selected to preside over them the senior of those present who were actually in the chair of a Lodge; and as a corollary, Wharton's alleged irregularity consisted in his putting in the chair a Brother who was not at the time a Master of a Lodge, the suggestion being, of course, that none of them would support him. Bro. Daynes quotes various texts to show that there was certainly such an office as Master recognised before 1717. I think this is a better interpretation than the one I give in the paper, and that we must take it accordingly that such Lodges as were established had recognised Masters, although we are still unable to say how long they held office. As Bro. Williams remarks, it would be interesting to know what were the conditions of electing, qualifying and installing them. One thing alone we can say: The Master must be "among the Fellows." And we may be quite certain that the Lodges appointed their own Masters, and *at this time* were accustomed to confer the requisite qualification, whatever it may have been, on their own authority. The New Articles of the *Roberts* throw no light on the point; they speak of the Master and Warden of the Limit or Division, officers for whom there is no other evidence. As Bro. Daynes points out, the actual existence of Masters and Wardens in the Lodges that met in 1716 makes the assumption of the designation Grand for the officers of the new body a perfectly natural one.

The next point is as to the condition of the Craft outside Grand Lodge, as to which Bro. Tuckett challenges my conclusions. I demur to the assertion that I or any one else *must* accept one statement in an author of the calibre of Plot because I accept others. It was Mr. Justice Stephen who pointed out long ago that in estimating evidence the inference we have to draw is from the statement to the truth of the statement. Plot's whole account is clearly based on information locally acquired. But in any case what we are concerned with, although Bro. Tuckett does not think so, is the Craft in Grand Lodge and nothing else. Bro. Tuckett asks us to believe in a large body of anti-Grand-Lodge tendencies in existence all the time which culminated in the Antients in 1751. He asks me to explain why this non-Grand-Lodge body of his adopted the change for their own Lodges. He has found fault with me for denying their existence; it is surely somewhat unreasonable now to ask me to expound the

activities of a body in which I do not believe. Bro. Tuckett is here arguing with less than his usual acumen.

The point is that whatever did exist outside the Freemasonry of the Grand Lodge at London disappeared, as far as the South was concerned, and if these people influenced our development in any way, that influence was brought to bear on Grand Lodge itself, and has affected us only through the medium of Grand Lodge. Our system to-day derives entirely from the Grand Lodges, whether Modern, Antient, or United. We are Grand Lodge Freemasonry. Whether the Craft in the South of England outside the G.L. was moribund, as I believe, or whether it was active as Bro. Tuckett wants us to think,—although he has no evidence later than 1710, and that is in London itself,—is for that reason immaterial. And he gives a wrong impression of the position when he talks about the enemy in 1725. What enemy was there? There were difficulties in connection with the Regulations; in November, 1725, they were surmounted in an entirely amicable manner. The Craft; that is to say Grand Lodge Freemasonry, was then at one. Difficulties did not again arise until after 1730, when certain injudicious alterations were probably the cause of the first beginnings of what was eventually to become the Antient Grand Lodge, principally because the alterations caused differences between English and Irish working.

The third point is that of New Lodges, referred to by Bros. Carter and Williams, and others. My position was that Payne's New Articles were prompted by the changed conditions, the principal feature of which was the necessity for regularising new Lodges. Bro. Williams observes that the difficulty was to prevent their foundation. Precisely so. But we must keep in mind that there was still persistent the tradition of the old custom that seven or more Masons might at any time meet and make Masons, and that that meeting was a Lodge. Payne, as I see the position, was determined to stamp out that idea, and insisted that Masons could only be made in regular bodies, the Stated Lodges of Gould, Lodges with proper officers, days of meeting and bye-laws, and above all Lodges authorised by the governing body, the existence of which had been notified to the Craft. New brothers were not to be made, even by them, without a month's notice; they had to be accepted unanimously, and had to agree to abide by the Constitutions.

Bros. Carter and Tuckett claim that the large number of copies of the Old Charges made during the period is proof of the foundation of new Lodges, meaning by that new bodies of a permanent nature, and that, therefore, it is not correct to argue that the idea itself was an innovation. We possess to-day over forty versions of these texts of the second half of the seventeenth century, and some twenty odd of the first half of the eighteenth. But we know that many of these copies were written, not for particular bodies meeting regularly, but for definite single meetings—also *Lodges*—at which a particular Brother was admitted. Bro. Carter has, I think, overlooked this consideration. That no Lodge could meet without a version of the O.C. I consider almost certain, and so do the Brethren who refer to the point. But the converse proposition that each version presupposes a *Stated Lodge* does not hold good; the very versions themselves disprove it; *e.g.*, *Waistell*, *Ramsey*, *Phillips 1*, *York 1*, *York 2*, *Newcastle*, *York 4*, and *Sloane 3848*, all of which indicate, and some state expressly, that they were prepared for a single occasion, and for a particular Brother. And they do not exhaust the list. Again the *Woodford* and *Supreme Council* texts of 1728 were purely antiquarian's copies, and so to all appearance is the *Wood*, and others suggest that they have a like origin.

I still think that my view of the position in 1721 is substantially accurate. There were a number of people anxious to join the Fraternity; they were also Masons anxious to come in somehow to the new organisation—they are clearly provided for in the Regulations. There was no room for them all in the Four Old Lodges. Accordingly definite provision was made for the formation, under elaborate restrictions, of New Lodges. This was, in my opinion, the principal

reason for Payne's New Articles, and the principal matter to which they were directed.

We now come to the celebrated sentence in Art. XIII.; and in the first place it is necessary to deal with the question of its probable date. Bro. Carter says we must take 1723 as the date of the XIII. Regulation, for, he kindly adds, to hold otherwise is to ignore, *for convenience of argument*, the responsibility of Grand Lodge for its own actions. But what are the facts? Anderson printed in 1723 what he expressly declared to be the Regulations as agreed to on St. John's Day, 1721. All that Grand Lodge did in 1723 was to approve this Book. 17 Jan. 1722/3. They therefore ratified and confirmed Anderson's version of the Regulations of 1721 as a correct reproduction of them, and the date they impose on us, by their own actions, is not 1723 but 1721. Bro. Carter knows quite well that from other considerations we are able to say with some confidence that Anderson did far more than digest these Regulations into this new method; he appears to have imported a lot of material for which he had no authority at all. But in respect of this particular sentence, the fact that it was thought necessary to *repeal* it is the consideration that leads me to suggest that it really is—what the whole XXXIX. claim to be, and are published by the orders of G.L. as being,—the actual tenour of Payne's Articles. Of any legislation by Grand Lodge in respect of this Article or on any other matter between June, 1721, and 1723, there is no record, either in the 1738 *Constitutions*, or anywhere else. But at the same time we may not exclude the possibility, which is pointed out by Bro. Daynes, and for which I allowed in the paper, that Anderson, in printing the Regulations, embodied in his text any later modifications authorised by Grand Lodge, although that there were any such there is no evidence. While, therefore, the plain conclusion to be drawn from the actual documents, and the actions of Grand Lodge, is that this is merely the legislation of 1721 redrafted, it is not safe to accept it as such absolutely. But the word *repeal* to my mind definitely excludes the possibility suggested by Bro. Daynes that the sentence has no authority but that of Anderson himself. Bro. Carter talks of an organised intrigue, and is concerned to reduce the time within which it can have developed to the shortest possible period. But to do that he is not entitled, *for convenience of argument*, to speak of the Regulations as though they only came into force when Anderson published them. That is contrary to the plain meaning of the text itself.

Bro. Williams demurs to the assumption that in the Article the words Master and Fellow-Craft are convertible terms. It is surely obvious that when Anderson writes that the Master shall be among the Fellow-Craft, the two terms are not synonymous. And in the *Book of Constitutions* generally the terms are used with a difference; Master certainly seems to imply Master of the Lodge. However, Bro. Williams has taken a deal of trouble to prove this obvious proposition. But he does not explain what, under these conditions, Art. XIII. itself is to be taken to mean, and that after all is the point. It cannot refer to two steps; it can only mean that by one process a Brother was to be admitted "Master and Fellow Craft." Bro. Lepper suggests that Anderson muddled the facts, and that actually the division of the Acceptance into two had taken place before 1723; as he points out, it is clear that in different localities different arrangements and systems of nomenclature were in force. No doubt Anderson had seen in the versions of the Old Charges that he consulted the constantly repeated phrase "Masters and Fellows" and he may for that reason, in reproducing the Article, have adopted the ancient phrase; that would account for the order in which the two designations are placed. But I have another explanation to propose, that will perhaps be accepted as meeting the case satisfactorily.

Bros. Hobbs, Daynes and others accept my idea of the Grand Lodge as a sort of unofficial City Company. In a review of the 1926 Prestonian Lecture, published in the *Builder* for February, 1928, Bro. Meekren has made two or three points of which I am glad to avail myself, besides dealing with matters

that other brethren have also referred to. The whole review is now printed as an addition to the present paper. Bro. Poole's suggestion, made in his own paper originally, and now re-stated, of a telescoping of operative practice for the benefit of speculatives is one that I am sure represents the actual course of events in many cases. I propose now to suggest an explanation of the introduction of the Trigradal System which will, I believe, not be open to the criticisms made of the theory as originally presented.

It was at the meeting of June 24, 1721, that Grand Master Payne brought up from the West country and exhibited in Grand Lodge the MS. we now know as the *Cooke*; and he went on to read over a new set of Articles to be observed. (*cf. A.Q.C. vi., 130.*) It is from the *Cooke* Text that we learn that at the congregations they that are to be made Masters should be examined and sworn.

Whatever had been the custom in the days of the gilds, the practice of convening a periodical assembly or congregation of the Craft had long been in abeyance. The Lodges—meaning by this the Stated Lodges—were making their own full members,—Fellows—and from them selecting their Masters. The Craft generally, in meetings called Lodges, were making Masons, but what further was done outside the stated Lodges is uncertain. But, with the help of the material brought together by Bro. Poole and his present suggestions, we can realise how, in all probability, matters stood by the days of G.L. The trade system was that there was a symbolic step connected with Pillars. The apprentice had nothing but an oath; but when out of his indentures he became, by this step, a Fellow, a full member of the Fraternity. The speculative must needs go through the form of being admitted an apprentice, but he proceeded then and there to full membership. The speculative, therefore, as an apprentice, learnt about the Pillars, both of them. Nevertheless, his step was really a double one; it conferred in one day the rank of full membership that in the trade was still only to be achieved after years of work and sometimes not then. It is to be observed that Regulations XXXVII. and XXXIX. indicate that at the Grand Feast apprentices could speak, vote and propose motions. So that some apprentices at all events were full members of the Society, but not members, of course, of Grand Lodge.

But in both cases the Master was only to be chosen from the Fellows, and this is the only qualification required. Actually, in the Fourth Charge, the 1723 *Constitutions* impose the further condition that he must have served as a Warden. But in the Method of Constituting a New Lodge this is not required; the Master is merely stated to be among the Fellow Craft. The two passages are inconsistent, and one is in consequence left in doubt as to what the practice in fact was in 1723. Montagu can hardly have served a term as Warden, and the same is to be said of Stukeley.

While we cannot say categorically what esoteric knowledge is in every case implied in the use of the term Fellow or Fellow Craft, it does appear as though, in the operative system, it cannot have involved a knowledge of anything beyond the Pillars. Nowhere in the *Constitutions* is it suggested or even hinted that the Master of the Lodge must have a prior knowledge of the narrative ceremony or its accessories. Our qualification to-day, speaking strictly technically, is still the possession of full membership that is implied in the title Fellow or Fellow Craft, and only so much esoteric knowledge as that implies.

On the other hand we have evidence over and over again of a candidate receiving the knowledge of the narrative, what we might almost call a Maughbin degree, as an ordinary incident of his full admission to the Order. It has nothing whatever to do with any occupation of the Chair.

We seem to see a process of extension taking place under speculative influences. We have in the days of the Gilds indications that there is among the Masters something esoteric, something associated with a legend of a Master. They are slight, but are there for what they are worth. We have in the exposures and other texts, which belong to a speculative period if we cannot

say in terms that they represent speculative usage, this esoteric information, hitherto properly associated only with those who were Masters in the Gild, given freely to Masons on acceptance, although it is treated as something which is withheld from the apprentice.

By this time there has come into existence a new distinction, brought about by the development of Stated Lodges, namely, a definite status of Master of the Lodge. It is clearly Lodge law from the first that the Master of the Lodge must be among the Fellows. But when we begin to meet with evidence as to ceremonies we find that what had in earlier times been a matter restricted to the Masters in the Gild, is imparted, to speculatives at all events, as an ordinary incident of admission, quite irrespective of any question of the Chair. That in any Lodges this knowledge was refused to brethren who had not occupied the Chair there is no evidence; it seems to be the common property of operative Masters and speculative Fellows and Masters.

Now in the Grand Lodge these two systems were presumably still in existence side by side as late as 1721. The Lodge in Channel Row was predominantly speculative; but the other three were still mainly operative in membership. The operatives imparted the knowledge of the Pillars when they made their Fellows; the speculatives did it on admission. The *Mason's Examination* seems to suggest that as Fellows something further was received in the way of symbolic instruction, but it is alone in this. There is also evidence that in certain cases Fellows learnt what is implied by Maughbin. But the qualification for the office of Master of the Lodge was not a question of esoteric knowledge. The brother had obviously to be a Mason; he also had to hold the rank of Fellow; but that was all that was required of him. As between one system and the other this involved a different esoteric equipment; this was immaterial. Whether he did or did not know all that is implied in Maughbin was not regarded. That a brother not so equipped might, after he had been placed in the Chair, take steps to acquire the knowledge, is probable. He was under no necessity to do so. The electing of the Master of the Lodge was a matter entirely for the Lodge itself; and it probably involved a minimum of secrets, or possibly none at all. But the communication of a word at least does seem to be indicated by the evidence.

I suggest that Payne sought to re-introduce the ancient rule, as he found it in the *Cooke* Text, that New Men were only to be admitted at the Assembly. The form it took at his hands was that Grand Lodge, that is to say the Lodges in Council, reserved for itself the power to confer *on the apprentice*, at Quarterly Communication, not the mere status of Fellow, or Fellow Craft, which the operative Lodges at all events were giving, but the rank of Master, by which was meant the knowledge of the Master's Part: The words "Master and Fellow Craft" would in that case, while still an echo of the Old Charges, have a different connotation, as they would now mean "not merely Fellow Craft but Master as well."

There is some evidence that Masons had been made in Grand Lodge on at all events one occasion. At p. 112 of the 1738 *Constitutions* Anderson alleges that on this same day, 24 June, 1721, G.L. with Payne as G.M. "made some new Brothers" at a meeting held in the morning. But there is no record of the making or admitting of Masters. Still that by itself neither proves nor disproves anything. Payne's enactment meant that the full possession of the esoteric knowledge available to a Mason was only to be had at the hands of Grand Lodge, that is to say, only to be conferred by the Lodges as an assembly, and not by private Lodges. It was the re-imposing of the old law of New Men. It had nothing to do with the Master in the Chair, or his qualifications or election. That was the affair of the private Lodges, who, as the law stood, were not in any way bound to select their Masters from brethren possessing the higher qualification. They went on, as they always had done, selecting their Masters from among their Fellows, and putting them in the Chair with whatever ceremony that may have required.

But it did involve, at all events in some cases, a serious interference with ceremonial, because the Lodges might not now, when admitting a Brother and making him a Fellow, communicate to him anything beyond the symbolic degree. That the injunction was ignored by individual Lodges is probable: but that it was treated generally as a dead letter and of no effect we cannot say, if only because of the quite definite statement, to which Bro. Williams, however, does not attach any weight, that the Third Degree, or Master's Part, was not taken by one in a hundred. But by this time the various systems were gradually being brought into harmony and uniformity; the very fact that the Craft was now no longer merely a number of isolated Lodges but a united Fraternity and Society would bring about that very result, the fusion referred to by Bro. Hobbs. Among the operatives it had been as a Fellow that the Mason learnt about the Pillars; among the speculatives it was as an apprentice. They now produced a double degree by a coalescing of these two methods, being very possibly influenced by the desire they would now feel to expand their curtailed ceremonies, and they gave two degrees which were at first practically identical, and were only gradually differentiated; but in time they came to split up the original material into two distinct portions, naturally from the very first described as Apprentice and Fellow Craft. As I stated in the paper itself, the first reference to this system is in the *Philo-Musicae* Minutes, but I was bound, when quoting them, to point out that they were not necessarily the first occasion of the degree being conferred. But Bro. Carter sees in this perfectly simple and natural caution another sinister attempt to twist the evidence. I am glad he can find no better instance. The form that the qualification for the Master's Chair now took was that the Brother must have taken the second of two degrees, both of which were solely concerned with symbolic material. The Master's Part was simply neglected, and left practically derelict. At best it was only a privilege troublesome to attain, and it led nowhere.

In 1725 the Regulation was not only inoperative; owing to there being now a specific degree entitled the Fellow Craft it was a source of misunderstanding in the Provinces and among New Lodges. It was therefore by common consent formally repealed. But the very terms of the resolution effecting this show that what was done was to restore to the Lodges the right to make Masters, provided that they had already among their members a majority of brethren holding that rank. These Masters are clearly something quite distinct from the Master of the Lodge. The meaning that was now attached to the word was that it implied the possession of a knowledge of the Narrative, the Master's Part, and that now became what we may in strictness call a degree, the Third of the new system. The Resolution carefully omits the word Fellow Craft although that was in the Article. The reason, of course, is that both in the Article, and in the resolution repealing it, all that is referred to is the one ceremony. It was still in no way a condition precedent to occupation of the Chair; a Fellow Craft could be Master of a Lodge and yet know nothing of the Hiram's Legend and all that it involves. The Lodges, now a fusion of two elements all in constant intercourse, at all events in London and Westminster, would have no difficulty in arriving at the new arrangement; there is no need for the organised revolt and the difficulties that it involves, to which several brethren refer. Bro. Poole says: "The Craft restored the old system by re-dividing the one degree they could confer." I now prefer to say that they brought together the two versions of their Pillar degree, which were no more than the same thing under two designations, and the natural result was to produce a double degree which satisfied adherents of both traditions. Because "Fellow Craft" had now become the fashionable word, it was substituted for the old term "Fellow," but it meant the same thing.

As far as the Master in the Chair was concerned the existence of Payne's Regulation was thus immaterial; the two things had no connection. But Art. XIII. did have the effect that the Master's Part was left as the monopoly of Grand Lodge, unless the private Lodge was prepared to set the law at

defiance. The result was that when the degree was restored to the Lodges they took no interest in it and as often as not could not work it. It became the property of Master's Lodges, and in the paper itself I have alluded to its subsequent history. The bearing of this on the possible origin of the Royal Arch as an alternative Chair Degree, or rather an expansion of the simple ceremony of Installation into a degree, is a matter requiring a separate and special investigation.

Bro. Williams describes the position of the Master of the Lodge with only a Fellow-Craft's qualification as Utopian, being under the impression that he is criticising my theory. He is actually criticising the law of the Craft to-day which is that the sole esoteric qualification for the Chair is the possession of such knowledge as was, among the speculatives prior to 1723, conferred on every apprentice.

It has not been possible to deal with all the points raised in the discussion, and the ideas now put forward are really a composite production, the summing up of the suggestions and criticisms that have been made. Bro. Lepper points out that in Ireland they took Anderson at his face value with the result that, under that Constitution, the knowledge of the Hiramic Legend has actually been the qualification required for the Master of the Lodge since 1731. And this is only one of many details of interest that the paper has served to bring out. In Lodge, Bro. Heiron reminded us that the Master's Square is one of the W.T. of the Second Degree, and that he wears nothing that associates him with the Third; in the *Stanley* doggerel we can observe an indication that the Square was part of the equipment of the Master in the Chair in 1714.

The last word has by no means been said on this difficult period, and other investigators will, I know, be received with the same critical enthusiasm for which I now thank my fellow-workers. I would wish to repeat what I said at the conclusion of the original paper, that, all through, I have had the advantage of a number of criticisms and suggestions in correspondence and discussion with Brethren, beyond what has appeared in print, and to one and all I am most grateful.



SUMMER OUTING, 1926

(Thursday, 1st July, to Sunday, 4th July).

YORK.



It was in 1898 that the Q.C. Lodge chose for its tenth Outing, York and the neighbourhood, and the excursion on the Saturday was devoted to Rievaulx and Byland, with lunch at Helmsley. After twenty-eight years this programme has been repeated in very nearly the same order, but with all the advantages of more modern means of transport. Both our W.M., W.Bro. John Stokes, and our Secretary had been with the original party, and Bros. F. A. Powell and J. W. Stevens were also with us once more, while Bros. Watson and Procter were again among the local Brethren who joined to welcome us. The full list of Brethren taking part in the Outing is as follows:—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.M., O. (S.C.); F. J. Asbury, of London, A.G.D.C.; W. N. Bacon, of London, P.M., 15, G.Stwd.; Rodk. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. 2076; Capt. J. C. Black, of Glasgow, S.W., 1241 (S.C.); J. Blackburn, of Birstall, 264; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; F. J. M. Boniface, of London, S.W., 2694; Robt. Bridge, of Colwyn Bay, P.Pr.G.D., E. Lanes.; Walter H. Brown, of London, P.G.Stwd.; G. W. Bullamore, of Much Hadham, 441; Guy M. Campbell, of London, L.R., P.Pr.G.D., Surrey; G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Robt. Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.; R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, W.D.M., 12; T. M. Copland, of Falkirk, P.G.D., Stirlingshire; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, of Wisbech, P.M., 2283, S.W., 2076; Dr. A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; Dr. C. Curd, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; H. T. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D., J.D., 2076; F. J. Dennant, of Ipswich, 650; R. A. Dickson, of London, P.Pr.G.D.C., Essex; E. H. Dring, of London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; Wm. S. Ellis, of Nottingham, P.Pr.A.G.Pt.; L. A. Engel, of London, L.R.; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C.; A. Gates, of Sherborne, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Geoghegan, of London, P.M., 620 (I.C.); J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; W. B. Gregar, of Westcliff-on-Sea, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; Major M. Hay, of London, 16 (S.C.); Dr. R. T. Halliday, of Glasgow, P.M., 772; A. Heiron, of London, L.R.; Gordon P. G. Hills, of Cookham Dean, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., 2076; John Holt, of Yarm, P.Pr.G.W., Durham; F. Houghton, of London, 1500; A. Hunter, of Falkirk, Pr.G.Sup., Stirling; J. R. Hyde, of Sheffield, P.M., 139; B. R. James, of Pinner, 2823; Thos. Jones, of London, L.R.; J. Heron Lepper, of London, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, P.M., 2076; H. McLachlan, of London, L.R.; F. T. Mager, of Peterborough, P.M., 3964; W. Makins, of London, P.M., 236; H. A. Matheson, of London, P.M., 2987; A. Y. Mayell, of London, P.M., 227; H. E. Miller, of London, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Durham; W. F. Morrison, of Stenhousemuir, P.M., 139; Dr. J. Murray, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, P.M., 607; Dr. George Norman, of Bath, P.G.D., J.W., 2076; J. H. Parker, of Norwich, P.M., 1452; H. D. Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; E. Pickstone, of Radcliffe, 2930; Geo. Pocock, of London, P.M., 2730; A. C. Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; F. A. Powell, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.M., 410; Dr. H. G. Rosedale, of London, P.G.Ch.; A. P. S. Salter, of London, P.M., 2932; Wm. Scott, of Saltburn, P.M., 543; Thos. Selby, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; F. M. Shaw, of London, 3578;

A. J. Smith, of London, 1962; B. A. Smith, of New Malden, J.W., 1962; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec., 2076; Dr. J. Stokes, of Sheffield, P.G.D., W.M., 2076; J. W. Stevens, of London, P.A.G.S.W.; Ed. Tappenden, of Hitchin, P.M., 901; J. E. S. Tuckett, of Bristol, P.A.G.S.B., P.M., 2076; E. R. Turner, of Peterborough, P.Pr.G.D.; G. P. Turner, of Effingham, P.Pr.G.D., Herts.; L. Vibert, of Bath, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., 2076; A. E. Ward, of Eaglescliffe, P.M., 4027; Ed. H. Watts, of Sidcup, P.M., 2882; G. C. Williams, of London, P.M., 25; W. J. Williams, of London, J.W., 2696; A. Winterbotham, of Peterborough, P.Pr.G.O.; H. R. Wood, of Manchester, P.Pr.G.W.; and W. Young, of London, P.Pr.G.D., Dorset.

Our headquarters were the Royal Station Hotel, and as soon as possible after our arrival on the Thursday afternoon we set out for the **Guildhall** (1446), after inspecting which we proceeded to the **Mansion House**, where the beautiful Civic Plate and Regalia were displayed for our benefit. The Lord Mayor had very kindly invited us to tea, and after availing ourselves of his generous hospitality we made our way to the Gardens of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, where we saw the ruins of St. Leonard's Hospital, St. Mary's Abbey, and the Roman Wall and Multangular Tower.

St. Leonard's Hospital. The original foundation is attributed to Athelstan, who, on his return from his Scotch wars, granted tithes to the 'Colidei' of the Minster in honour of God and St. Peter, and gave them a piece of waste ground on which to build a hospital. King Stephen rebuilt it, and altered the dedication to St. Leonard, and subsequent monarchs confirmed and increased the privileges of the foundation. At the Dissolution it was sequestered, and the Archbishops set up their Mint in the buildings; the name Mint Yard still survives. In 1675 the Mayor and Corporation bought the site. All that now remains of the original Hospital is the ambulatory and part of the dormitory.

The Benedictine **Abbey of St. Mary** adjoined St. Leonard's, and the ruins are those of the Abbey constructed 1270-1290; but there had been an Abbey in existence from 1078. It lay outside the City and City walls, and the monks and city authorities were constantly at variance with regard to the limits of the Abbot's jurisdiction. The details of these disputes are not to-day of general interest, but we may perhaps pause to consider the case of Bro. Jucundus, who, getting drunk on Martinmas, to the grave discredit of the Abbey, was summarily walled up in the party wall, and there left. But he contrived to break through on the St. Leonard's side of the wall; he was welcomed by that fraternity and made one of them. The very next year, at Martinmas, he again offended in like manner, and the good friars of St. Leonard's in their turn walled him up in the same wall. He continued, however, to sing lustily, and the monks of St. Mary's hearing him, hastened to break down the wall from their side, and recovered their erring brother, who—as it seemed to them—had been miraculously preserved for a twelvemonth in the wall itself. The Abbey derived great glory from the miracle and incontinently made Bro. Jucundus their Abbot. But I am unable to identify him in the list of Abbots given in Drake's *Eboracum*, so that the precise date of the incident must remain uncertain.

The Multangular Tower was the N.W. bastion of the wall built round Roman York at the end of the third century, or a little later. It was utilised when the mediæval walls were built, being embodied in them with the addition of an upper portion. **The Museum**, over which we were taken by Bro. W. E. Collinge, contains a representative collection of fossils, prehistorics, mediæval pottery, Roman antiquities, and architectural carvings, etc.

After dinner we attended an emergency meeting of **the York Lodge**, No. 236, at the Masonic Hall in Duncombe Place, where the W.M., Bro. Martin Lowish Wheldon, delivered the following address of welcome:—

BRETHREN,

We are met here this evening at this Lodge of Emergency for the purpose of welcoming the W.M. and Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, and on

behalf of the York Lodge No. 236 I offer to them a very hearty welcome and I wish to express to them the pleasure and gratification it gives us to have them amongst us this evening. We particularly appreciate the fact that they have selected York for their Summer Outing this year, as it is the reputed one thousandth anniversary of the founding of Masonry in this ancient City.

Some of these Brethren were here on the occasion of the previous visit of the Lodge twenty-eight years ago, and they know what treasures ecclesiastical, archæological, historical and Masonic we possess in and around York. The history of York is to a great extent the history of England, and if you trace the events that have occurred here in past ages you will appreciate that we have much to be proud of as Citizens of a no mean City, with a glorious past equalled by few and excelled by none.

I should like to bring to the notice of those visiting Brethren who have not been here previously a few of the many interesting facts relating to this City which are worthy of their consideration and investigation.

From the Ecclesiastical standpoint York possesses much of interest in its glorious Minster with those wonderful windows, the Abbey of St. Mary's, and the numerous beautiful Churches of all periods, and it is interesting to note that next year will be held the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Minster and the ancient Grammar School of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter.

The Archæologist and the Antiquarian will revel in the beauty of the City Walls and Bars and in the numerous Roman remains and interesting buildings of all periods, from the Saxon to the Georgian, which are still to be found here. As a walled City, York is probably without equal, and it is a source of interest to visitors from near and far. The ancient Guildhall and Mansion House with its Civic treasures, you have already seen, and to-morrow you will have the opportunity of inspecting the wonderful old Halls of the Merchant Adventurers and Merchant Taylors, and also many other interesting buildings. There are many quaint streets in York with characteristic names, including Whip-ma-Whop-ma Gate, which you will pass through to-morrow, and although this is perhaps one of our shortest streets, it would undoubtedly seem of great length to those unfortunate individuals who ran the gauntlet there on certain occasions.

The Historian will also find much of interest in the records of our ancient City, which from earliest times has played an important part in the history of Yorkshire, of the North, and of Britain. When London was merely a collection of hovels amidst the mud banks and swamps of the Thames, York was a power in the land.

In the days of early Britons, York flourished, no doubt owing to its situation in a fertile and well watered plain adjacent to a large forest area.

During the Roman occupation of Britain, York was their chief station, and the VI. and IX. Legions were quartered here. Many traces of their occupation are still to be found in and around our ancient City. In the Saxon era, York was still to the fore, and it was from here that King Harold marched to meet and defeat the invading Norsemen at the battle of Stamford Bridge, some eight miles away to the N.E.

In the early and middle ages, right through the time of the Stuarts and onwards, York was the main Military and Social centre of the North and on many occasions the Kings of England stayed here.

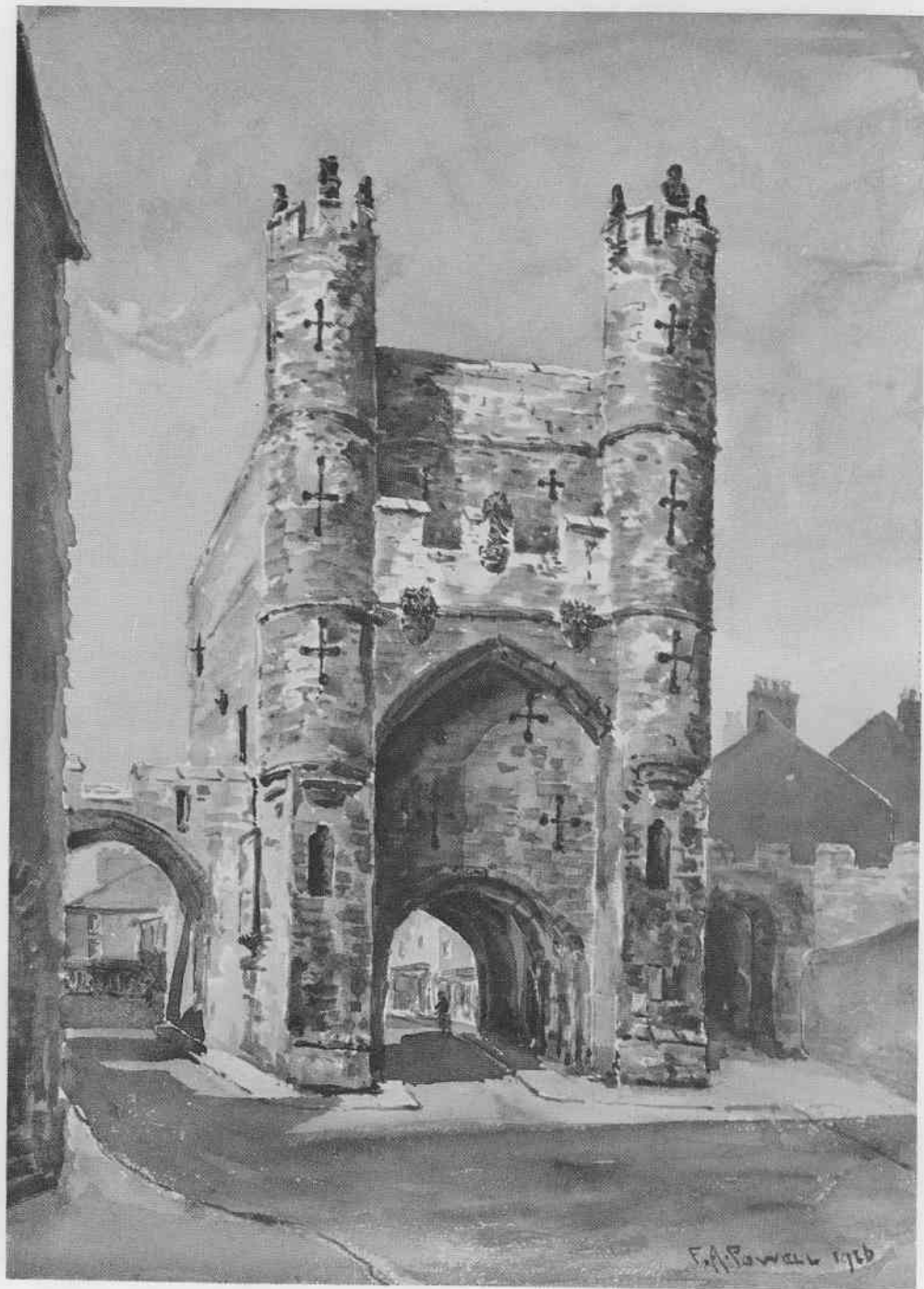
James I. had much interest in the York district, as he possessed a Royal Hunting Lodge in the Forest of Galtres, which then extended over a large area towards the North and East of the City, and the Hunting Lodge is still in existence, though now used as a farm house.

Ever a great military centre, York was also prominent from a commercial point of view. It possessed numerous Crafts and Guilds who were a law unto themselves for the conduct of their respective business concerns, and some of those Guilds still remain.

The Jews found York a happy hunting ground, and it is a matter of history that they fleeced the inhabitants truly and well, though in some cases they experienced the anger of the populace.

These are but a few of the many interesting facts about York, but there is another matter affecting our history which will appeal still more to the learned visiting Brethren, as members of the premier Research Lodge, and that is the Masonic history of this City.

York.



Monk Bar.

York has been correctly termed the Mecca of Freemasonry. It has undoubtedly always played an important part in the history of Masonry, and nearly all the Traditions of the Craft are centred in and around York.

It is a tradition, as stated at the head of your itinerary, that King Athelstan granted to his son Edwin a charter and commission to hold every year an assembly of Masons, and with that permission Prince Edwin formed a Grand Lodge at York in A.D. 926. The old Fabric Rolls of York Minster show that for many years an Operative Lodge of Masons was at York in connection with the building and maintenance of the Minster. In the early part of the eighteenth century it adopted Free and Accepted or Speculative Masonry, and in 1725 it claimed the status of a Grand Lodge, and became known as the Grand Lodge of all England.

In connection with this fact may I draw your attention to the Lodge Board of the Grand Lodge of all England, from which we claim lineal descent?

The sceptical and jealous may dispute the York claims, but all the available evidence strongly supports our contentions. The York Lodge possesses the Seals, Rules, Minute Books, Records and a great deal of the furniture of the Grand Lodge, which have come down to us as our rightful heirlooms.

To give you a full account of all the Masonic history of York during past ages would take up far too much time and I will not presume to attempt it, because your object in coming here this evening is not to listen to me, but to inspect the Relics of the Grand Lodge of all England and our other treasures here and in the Library. These will be explained to you by our W.Bro. the Librarian.

I trust that the visiting Brethren will have an enjoyable time and that when they leave our ancient City they will take away with them very pleasant memories of their 1926 Summer Outing at York.

The Treasures in the possession of the Lodge were exhibited, and Bros. E. J. Hardcastle, Librarian to the Lodge, and W. R. Makins, Assistant Librarian to the Grand Lodge of England, read papers on them, of which the text is as follows:—

Bro. E. J. HARDCASTLE said:—

I am indebted, for the information I am about to give you, to the writings of the late W.Bro. Joe Todd, P.M. of this Lodge, the late W.Bro. W. J. Hughan, Hon. Member, and my old friend and predecessor in office, W.Bro. W. R. Makins.

At the same time I wish to acknowledge, with gratitude and thanks, a considerable amount of assistance kindly given by Bro. Jos. Horner, Librarian of the Eboracum Lodge No. 1611.

In Masonic history the ancient City of York has, from a very early period, held an important and prominent position; indeed, there is no place more interesting to the Masonic student than the City, which, by tradition and the ancient Manuscript Constitutions, is marked as the early seat of Masonry in this country.

I believe all the ancient Manuscript Constitutions, of which there are about 100 in evidence, mention York as the place where, in early times, the meetings or assemblies of the Craft were held, and from these meetings or assemblies there is little or no doubt that the Grand Lodge of All England, formerly held in this City, was originally constituted.

The history of this Grand Lodge was ably written by the late W.Bro. W. J. Hughan in his *Masonic Sketches and Reprints*, and I need therefore only observe that, after a long and somewhat chequered career it finally ceased to exist about 1792.

After its dissolution the valuable records and antiquities of the old Grand Lodge were transferred to this Lodge (then called the Union Lodge) for safe custody.

The most important of these records consist of the ancient Manuscript Constitutions, the Minutes of Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, a large amount of correspondence and a number of miscellaneous documents, and with these were handed over the greater portion of the regalia used by the Grand Lodge when in active working at York.

As regards the Manuscript Constitutions (six in number), these were in the archives of the Grand Lodge in 1779 according to an inventory of its property taken at that date.

Of these, five are now in the possession of the York Lodge. The first, which is numbered 1, is supposed to be of the date of 1600 or thereabouts and is unquestionably the most interesting as well as the oldest of all the manuscripts. It is composed of four pieces of parchment sewn together, measuring 7 feet in length. It is endorsed "Found in Pontefract Castle at its demolition and given to the Lodge by Francis Drake, A.D. 1736." Dr. Drake, the eminent antiquarian and historian of York, was at that time a prominent member of the Grand Lodge and took an active part in its proceedings. The demolition of Pontefract Castle commenced in April, 1649, but how this document found its way there and how long it had remained in that fortress, it is impossible to ascertain. It was not, however, destined to remain at York. After having been presented to the Grand Lodge by Bro. Drake, it was in fact lost sight of for a long period until discovered by the late W.Bro. Hughan in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England at London along with another of the York Manuscripts, and mainly through the exertions of the late W.Bro. Hollon, a P.M. of this Lodge, both were restored to its custody in 1877, the year its centenary was celebrated.

Roll No. 2 is the most modern of the York Rolls, and is also written on parchment, and is headed "The Constitutions of Masonry 1704." It is the only one of the York Constitutions in which the word "Freemason" is made use of; the word Mason generally occurring.

Both the Rolls 1 and 2 contain an "Annagramme" on Masonry, that on the latter being of a similar character to the former.

Roll No. 3 is unfortunately missing and up to the present time has not been traced. It is referred to in the Inventory of 1779 as "A parchment Roll of Charges on Masonry 1680."

Roll No. 4 is dated 1693 and appears to have been written by Mark Kypling, and there are also several signatures of Officers or Members of the Lodge attached to it.

It was written on a roll of paper 10½ ft. long and was given to the Grand Lodge by Bro. George Walker, of Wetherby, in 1777.

There is a peculiar clause in this Manuscript, which is as follows:—"The one of the Elders taking the Book and that he or she that is to be made Mason shall lay their hands thereon and the Charge shall be given." Bro. Hughan has shewn that this is a faulty translation from Latin, and that the words should be "he or they." The Manuscript also contains a special Charge to Apprentices and is altogether a most interesting document.

Roll No. 5 is a long roll of paper containing neither date nor signature, but its date is supposed to be about the year 1690. It is evidently a copy of Roll No. 1, except that it indicates the book on which Apprentices were sworn to secrecy to be "Ye Holy Scripture."

Roll No. 6, the last of the Manuscript Rolls of Constitutions, is mentioned in the York Inventory as "A parchment Roll of Charges whereof the bottom part is awanting." This is now complete. The date of it is about 1680 and its contents are similar to the earlier Roll, but the conclusion is different from all the other Rolls. It is as follows:—

"Doe all as you would be done unto and I beseech you at every meeting and assembly you pray heartily for all Christians."

Time does not permit of a further description of these interesting and valuable Manuscripts. They were all published by the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1894.

I come now to the Minutes of Proceedings of the old Grand Lodge the first being a parchment Roll (No. 7) commencing March 17th, 1712, when it appears that several members were "sworn and admitted."

There are also several Minutes of Meetings held prior to the revival in London in 1717, when Sir Walter Hawkesworth, Bart., and Charles Fairfax, Esqre. were Grand Masters, or, as they were then termed, Presidents.

In the Inventory of 1779, previously referred to, is mentioned a Masonic folio Manuscript Book beginning 7th March, 1705-6, containing sundry accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge. This Book is unfortunately missing, but as its date is

twelve years earlier than the formation of the Grand Lodge of London, it would no doubt shew that speculative Masonry was in active existence in York at that period. It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that this book will yet be discovered.

From the records in existence it appears that Dr. Francis Drake was Initiated at a private Lodge at the Star Inn in Stonegate on the 6th September, 1725, and in December of the same year was chosen Junior Grand Warden. On St. John's Day, 1726, he delivered his celebrated Charge at a Grand Lodge held at the Merchants' Hall, York, which was afterwards printed and a copy is now in the possession of this Lodge.

From 1734 to 1761 no Minutes are preserved, but in the latter year the Grand Lodge was revived by six of the surviving members, Bro. Drake being elected Grand Master.

The Minutes from this date to 1774 are very carefully entered and shew that during that period Constitutions were granted by the Grand Lodge for Lodges to meet at:—The Punch Bowl, Stonegate (exclusively for French Prisoners of War);

The Turk's Head, Scarborough;
The Royal Oak, Ripon;
The Crown, Knaresborough;
The Duke of Devonshire, Macclesfield, Cheshire;

and at Hovingham, in Yorkshire.

The earliest record of the actual working of Royal Arch Masonry is contained in a Minute Book of the Grand Chapter commencing 7th February, 1762. The date of this, it will be observed, was very shortly after the revival of the Grand Lodge referred to (1761), and I am not aware of any earlier records of the organised working of this Degree.

Another Minute Book of the Grand Chapter at York commencing February, 1778, and ending 10th September, 1781, is particularly interesting as it contains the following entry:—

“York Cathedral 27th May 1778.

The Royal Arch Brethren, whose names are undermentioned, assembled in the ancient Lodge, now a sacred recess within the Cathedral Church of York, and then and there opened a Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons in the most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch. [Here follow the names of nine Brethren.] The Chapter was held and then closed in usual form, being adjourned to the first Sunday in June, except in case of emergency.”

In the Grand Lodge Minute Book under date of February, 1780, is a record of proceedings of the Companions of the Honourable Order of Knights Templars and subsequently a resolution was agreed to affirming the authority of the Grand Lodge over the five Degrees or Orders of Masonry, viz.:—1st Entered Apprentice, 2nd Fellow Craft, 3rd Master Mason, 4th Knight Templar, 5th Royal Arch, being the only Grand Lodge in Great Britain which recognised Knight Templary.

There is also a certificate issued by the Grand Lodge signed John Brown G. S. as follows:—“Admitted (1st Degree) 20th January 1779, raised (2nd Degree) 20th February 1779; raised (3rd Degree) 27th September 1779; raised (4th Degree or R.A.M.) 27th October 1779; Knight Templar (5th Degree) 29th November 1779.”

This is believed to be the earliest official document in Great Britain and Ireland shewing the connection of Knights Templars with Freemasonry.

The last record preserved of the Grand Lodge ends with a memorandum dated 23rd August, 1792, which records the election of Officers, Bro. Edward Woolley (whose portrait hangs in the Banqueting Room) being elected Grand Master, Bro. George Kitson, Grand Treasurer, and Bros. Richardson and Williams, Wardens.

Amongst the records will be found a list of Masons made in the Grand Lodge from 1712 to 1734 and from 1761 to 1790, a large number of them being members of the principal families in the North of England. From 1761 to 1790 about 200 members were Initiated.

Amongst the furniture and paraphernalia of the Grand Lodge may be mentioned the large silk banner with the arms of the Grand Lodge, which you see before you; a large painting of the Crypt of York Minster, which is mentioned in the Minutes

of 25th May, 1778; a mahogany pedestal with cushion and crimson velvet cover given by Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bart., still used as the obligating pedestal; three Columns of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian Orders, with silver sockets; three Mallets placed on the pedestals of the W.M. and Wardens; a pair of Gold Compasses, now used only on the occasions of installation; Plate for Summonses; Seals and Counter Seals of the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter; and other relics which are placed on the table for inspection.

In conclusion, Brethren, I would like to say that although we members of the York Lodge are the actual possessors of these valuable documents and treasures, still we consider ourselves merely the custodians of them for the benefit of Freemasons in general and regard it as a pleasurable duty to be able, from time to time, to exhibit and explain them to our Brethren from other parts of the Masonic world.

Bro. W. R. MAKINS said:—

After the clear and comprehensive description in general terms of the Treasures in the possession of the York Lodge, as related by W.Bro. Hardcastle, little more need be said, but perhaps some of the Brethren present may be interested in the collection of correspondence, &c., which is to be found in the bound Volume of Miscellaneous MSS.

This Volume is composed of odd documents, letters, returns, &c., from some of the subordinate Lodges under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of all England, and are all of eighteenth century date.

The first document to be found in the Volume is the original Warrant granted by the 'Modern' Grand Lodge in London, dated 12th January, 1761, for a private Lodge to be held at the Sign of the Punch Bowl in Stonegate, in the City of York. The Petitioners were members of a Lodge at Kingston-upon-Hull, and the eight founders were members of the York Company of Comedians.

This was the first Lodge of Speculative Masons to be held in this City under any Constitution, other than the Grand Lodge of all England, and its advent caused the members of the old Grand Lodge, which for some years—how many we cannot say—had been dormant, to revive their meetings a month or so later.

The Lodge at the Punch Bowl had for its first Master Bro. Bridge Frodsham, the idol of the playgoers of York, and generally referred to as "The Yorkshire Garrick," who on the occasion of Installing his Successor, delivered a Charge to the W.M. Officers and Members of the Lodge which was printed at the time, by another Member of the Lodge. I am unaware of the existence of a copy of the Original edition of the pamphlet, but it was reprinted in the very rare "Freemason's Companion," Newcastle, 1777, a copy of which is preserved in our Library.

This Lodge only existed for about three years, during which period twenty-two Brethren were made Masons in the Lodge, one was Re-made and twelve were admitted as Joining Members, nine of whom were Brethren who were initiates of the Grand Lodge of all England.

The cause of the collapse of the Lodge, early in 1764, seems to have been through its members becoming exclusively connected with the York Grand Lodge.

Other items connected with this Lodge and preserved in this Volume are a Copy of the Proceedings at the Quarterly Commⁿ. held at London 30th October, 1767, and a Letter from Grand Lodge of 27th December, 1767, requesting a Contribution from the Lodge to the General Fund of Charity.

Another interesting document bound in this Volume contains the Rules and Orders of the Grand Lodge of all England, dated 1761—with additions and alterations to 27th December, 1779. A further draft set of Rules and Regulations, dated 1780, are also preserved and bound up in this Volume.

Other important items are two small Quarto Books, one of which is the G. Treasurer's A/c Book for the Grand Chapter, 1768-1780, and the Order of Knights of the Tabernacle (Knights Templar) 1780; and the other the draft Minute Book of the Grand Chapter, from 8th February, 1778, to 11th March, 1779. This contains a list of Members of the Grand Chapter; the titles of the Grand Principals being S., H.T., and H.A.B.



The Micklegate.

Several letters from the subordinate Lodges of the Grand Lodge of all England are also to be found between the covers, more especially does this refer to the Druidical Lodge, No. 109, at Rotherham, where Josiah Beckwith (an Attorney) was R.W.M. Their Returns from 22nd December, 1778, to 26th November, 1779, and from 27th December, 1779, to 24th November, 1780, are practically copies of the Minutes of the Lodge.

Perhaps the most interesting of these Letters is one written by Josiah Beckwith to John Browne, G. Secretary, wherein he informs the Brethren of the G.L. of all E. that he had interviewed with the connivance of the Committee the Earl of Effingham (who resided in the district, "The Grange,") with regard to his Lordship accepting the Office of Grand Master of all England.

Brother Beckwith in his account of the interview stated: "His Lordship received me as a Brother, with all the Marks of Cordiality, Brotherly Love, true Politeness and Affability possible; and desired that I would, in his Name, thank the Brethren of the Grand Lodge for the very distinguishing Mark of Honour they meant to confer upon him, by electing him their Grand Master; an Honour his Lordship would accept, with great Pleasure, if he could be satisfied that, by so doing, the Interests of Maceonry in general would be promoted.—But his Lordship fears it would be attended with a quite contrary Effect and that it would be a Means of widening the Breach between the Grand Lodge of All England, and the Grand Lodge of England, which acknowledges the Duke of Manchester for Grand Master."

Brother Beckwith then requested his Lordship to receive a deputation of some of the Brethren from York in order to "satisfy his Lordship of the Utility of his Lordship's Acceptance of that Dignity" . . . when "His Lordship replied that no Person needed any other Introduction to him than that of being a Maceon; and was pleased to give a General Invitation to myself, and any of the Brethren who would take the Trouble of waiting upon him, (to use his own Phrase) to see how his Mutton was roasted."

We have no record of any Deputation accepting this General Invitation, but in 1782 The Earl of Effingham was appointed by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, G.M., Acting Grand Master of the 'Modern' Grand Lodge, being the first Brother to hold that Office.

But the documents contained in this Volume, which I imagine the present company would put the greatest value on, are the letters which passed between the Grand Lodge of all England at York and the Lodge of Antiquity (now No. 2, on the Roll of United Grand Lodge) during the years 1778-9, which resulted in the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent being established in London, by Deputation from the Grand Lodge at York.

What led to the establishment of a third Grand Lodge in the eighteenth century, in addition to the 'Moderns' and 'Antients' may be related in as few words as possible.

On the Festival of St. John the Evangelist in 1777, the Brethren of the Lodge of Antiquity attended a service at St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, at which their Chaplain preached the Sermon. The Brethren put on Masonic clothing for the service in the vestry of the Church; at the conclusion of which, instead of divesting themselves of their regalia, they walked across the road (about twelve yards) still wearing it, to their Lodge room at the Mitre Tavern.

A minority of the Members of the Lodge, consisting of the four senior Members, John Noorthouck, John Bottomley, William Rigge and John Smith, objected to these proceedings, which they described as a "procession" for which a Dispensation was necessary, while William Preston, P.M., and his adherents, who were the majority, declared it was not a procession, and justified their action by "claiming an inherent Right to be vested in that Lodge, by virtue of its immemorial Constitution, to discharge the Duties of Masonry; and that it was not in the power of the Grand Lodge to deprive it of that Authority." (Rylands, p. 325.)

The minority led by Bro. Noorthouck, allowed no time for a peaceful solution of the differences, by presenting a Memorial to the Grand Lodge, practically compelling Grand Lodge to adjudicate on the matter, with the result that the Committee of

Charity declared that no such inherent Right existed, and Preston, on refusing to retract that Doctrine, was declared incapable of attending Grand Lodge or its Committees in future.

At the following Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held on 4th February, 1778, Bro. Preston presented a Memorial to Grand Lodge, and after signing a Declaration withdrawing the Doctrine of inherent right and expressing regret for having propagated such Doctrine, the resolution of expulsion passed by the Committee of Charity was annulled.

In the following May the Majority party, or Preston's adherents, in the Lodge, by vote, excluded Bros. John Noorthouck, John Bottomley and James Brearley, "the Harmony of this Lodge having been repeatedly interrupted by their personal reflections and illiberal behaviour." Early in June Wm. Preston issued his very rare pamphlet "A state of Facts," giving his point of view of the foregoing proceedings, which evidently caused some excitement in Masonic circles at the time, for exception was taken to it at the Committee of Charity held on 30th October following, where it was stated that the Pamphlet contained "many severe, inflammatory, and false Reflections upon the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge."

On the 15th of July, 1778, two Visitors attended the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity, one of them being Jacob Bussey, "Grand Lodge of York," with whom doubtless the Members of the Lodge talked over their difficulties, Jacob Bussey being at that time Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of York; and on 29th of August, Bussey sent to the Lodge of Antiquity his well known letter in which he gave the names of the Grand Masters at York from 1705 to 1734, and mentioned that the Lodge was once holden (in 1713) out of York, viz., at Bradford in Yorkshire, when eighteen Gentlemen of the first Families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons. It is assumed that Bussey was quoting from a Minute Book which was in the possession of the old Grand Lodge, when the Schedule of the Regalia, Records, &c., were taken at a Committee, held 15th of September, 1779, but which unhappily is now missing.

The Minority members, excluded in May, presented another Memorial to Grand Lodge, requesting re-instatement in the Lodge of Antiquity, and this was ordered to be done, at the next meeting of the Committee of Charity, held on the 30th October, 1778.

This the Lodge of Antiquity refused to do, declaring that the Memorialists were legally expelled, and claiming that "they themselves were the only adequate Judges in affairs of this Domestic Nature, and sufficiently Impowered to conduct themselves on this and every other occasion within their own Lodge, by that Immemorial Constitution which they are universally allowed to possess and are resolved inviolably to support and preserve."

The Lodge of Antiquity followed up this refusal by issuing their Manifesto which was dated 16th December, 1778, in which they withdrew themselves from the Grand Lodge of England, and recalled "all such rights and powers, as We, or our predecessors, did conditionally give to the said nominal Grand Lodge in London"; and at the same time did "solemnly avow, acknowledge and Admit the Authority of the said Most Worshipful Grand Lodge at York, as the truly ancient and only regular governing Grand Lodge of Masons in England, to whom the Fraternity all owe and are rightfully bound to pay allegiance."

Copies of this Manifesto were sent to all known Lodges, with the result that Wm. Preston and ten of his supporters were expelled the Society.

But between the date when Bro. Bussey wrote on the 29th of August and the issuing of the Manifesto on the 16th of December, much had happened of which the Grand Lodge, and the Grand Secretary at that time, James Heseltine (a Yorkshireman by birth), was apparently in complete ignorance.

In reply to Bro. Bussey's letter, a request was sent to the Grand Lodge at York for their consent to grant "a Warrant or Deputation to a few Members of the Lodge of Antiquity to act as a Grand Lodge for that part of England, South of the River Trent with a power of constituting Lodges in that Division, when properly applied for, and a regular correspondence to be kept up, and some token of Allegiance to be annually given on the part of the Brethren thus authorised to act."

The following names of Brethren were requested to be specified in the Warrant or Deputation should the Grand Lodge think proper to grant one:—

John Wilson, Esq. (present Rt. W. Master of the Lodge of Antiquity) as R.W. Grand Master;

William Preston (present Rt. W. Past Master of do.) as W. Dept. Grand Master;

Benjamin Bradley (present Rt. W. Junior Warden of do.) as W. Senior Grand Warden;

Gilbert Buchanan (present Secretary to do.) as W. Junior Grand Warden;

John Sealy (present Senior Steward of do.) as Grand Secretary;

and two other Brethren whom we may appoint here out of said Lodge.

In reply to this "Address," another letter was despatched to the Lodge of Antiquity on 21st October, 1778, signed by the G.M. and Officers of the Grand Lodge, complying with the request, and in order to convince the Antiquity Brethren that no mercenary views were held by the York Brethren, the fixing of the Sums to be paid to the Mother Lodge, as well as the annual acknowledgment for each Constitution granted, and indeed the Drawing of the Deputation was left to the discretion of the London Brethren.

This was drawn up and forwarded to York, where various alterations and additions were suggested which, not meeting with approval, were omitted and the Deputation, dated 29 March, 1779, signed by Wm. Siddall, G.M., and John Browne, G. Secretary, was early in April taken up to London by Bror. Bussey and delivered to the Lodge of Antiquity. The Document, in an excellent state of preservation, is still kept among the Treasures of that famous Lodge, and is not the least interesting of their exhibits which are on view at least once in every year.

It will be noticed that this correspondence, which resulted in the establishment of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, was carried through without loss of time, for which two reasons may be assigned. First, that the Lodge of Antiquity, anticipating what was in store for them by an open defiance to the edicts of the Modern Grand Lodge, wished to be in a position of positive independence, and, secondly, the Grand Lodge at York considered two affronts had been received by them from what they called the "nominal and self-aggrandized Lodge in London"—the first in 1773, when without any enquiry into the circumstances a Warrant was granted to a few discontented members of the Grand Lodge of all England to open and hold the Apollo Lodge, and appointing them to the principal offices in the newly-formed Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of York; and the second being a statement contained in a foot-note in the "Freemason's Calendar" for 1777—the first issue published under the sanction of Grand Lodge, which ran as follows:—

"Some Brethren at York continued to act under their original Constitution notwithstanding the revival of the Grand Lodge of England, but the irregular
"Masons in London never received any patronage from them. The ancient
"York Masons were confined to one Lodge, which is still extant; but it
"consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether
"annihilated."

These two incidents greatly incensed the Grand Lodge of all England and the nature of the Yorkshiresmen in the eighteenth century being probably similar to that of the present day, one one can readily understand they would gleefully embrace the first opportunity of getting even with the Grand Lodge of England.

These squabbles resulted in the Lodge of Antiquity being split into two Lodges each calling itself by the original name, and in November, 1778, both parties met for the purpose of holding a Lodge at the Mitre, the Majority, having turned up earlier than the Minority, were in possession of the Regalia and Furniture of the Lodge, which was demanded of them by the Minority party. The Landlord was called in and interviewed by the Majority, and as they could get no satisfactory statement from him respecting the security of the Furniture, it was decided that his Account should be

immediately paid, and the Lodge and Furniture be immediately removed to the Queen's Arms Tavern, in St. Paul's Church Yard, which was done in the manner described in the first Minute Book of the Minority or Noothouck Lodge, as follows:—

"At their (next) meeting, this junto of apostates [referring to Wm. Preston and party] waiting for the deadeast hour of the night, as the season best suited to acts of perfidy and rapine; with the assistance of some desperados from a press gang, most outrageously carried off all the furniture, the joint property of the whole Lodge in three or four coaches!

"The remaining brethren of the Lodge, who held fast their integrity, though they had been thus injuriously defrauded of their property, have still this consolation left; that by the revolt above related, their society is thoroughly and happily weeded of unworthy members.—They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good. They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy. Psalm xiv, 1, 3."

This is followed with an "Inventory of Books, Jewels and Furniture the property of the Lodge of Antiquity violently taken away in the night between the 18th and 19th of November, 1778, from the Mitre tavern, Fleet street, by a sett of Rioters who called themselves York Masons."

Regarding the Grand Lodge South of the Trent, little is known, the Minute Book is missing, but copies of the Proceedings were sent to York, those of 24 June, 1779, being entered in No. 2 Minute Book, and those of 1 July, 1780, showing that two subordinate Lodges, "Perfect Observance No. 1" and "Perseverance and Triumph No. 2," had been granted Warrants, being among the papers comprised in this Volume.

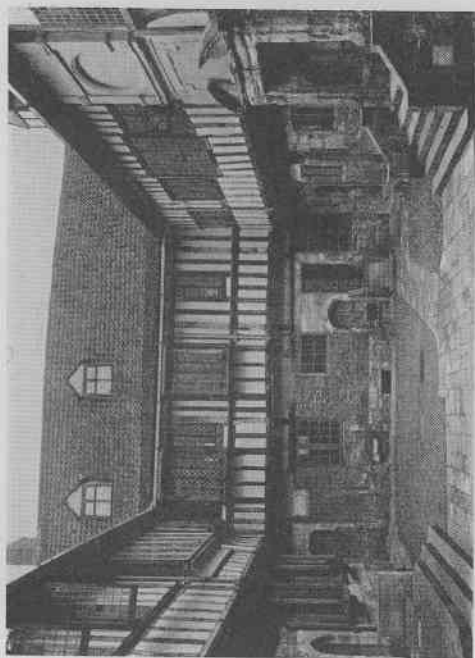
In addition to these items, other papers of a more or less interesting nature will be found, including an uncut copy of Drake's Speech, printed by Thomas Gent, and seeing we are honoured with the presence of W.Bro. Heiron he might like to know that a certificate granted by the "Old Dundee" Lodge to Capt. Thos. Boulby is carefully preserved here.

Bro. T. B. Whytehead wrote a paper on the Grand Lodge at York which is in *A.Q.C.* ii., and in *A.Q.C.* xiii. are two papers, by Bros. Whytehead and Hughan, in which the whole history of the Grand Lodge is dealt with at length, the text of the earlier Minutes being given *in extenso*. It was a great satisfaction to the visitors to see for themselves the versions of the Old Charges, and other relics with which they were already familiar at second hand, and to listen to the enthusiastic and scholarly descriptions of them given by the Brethren of the Lodge that is now their proud possessor.

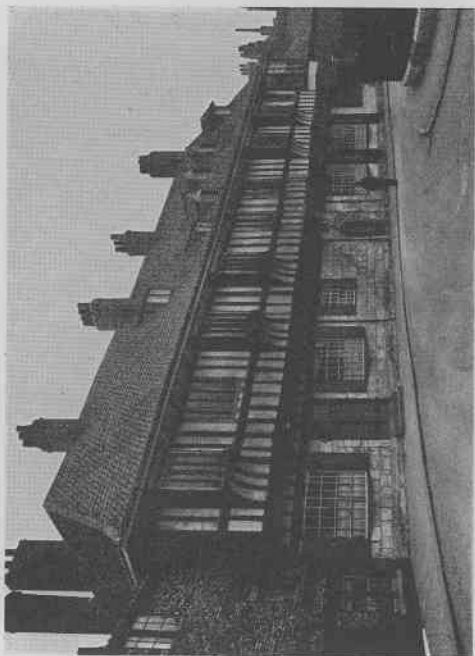
On the Friday we assembled at Bootham Bar, and walked along the **City Wall** to Monk Bar. The complete circuit of the mediæval walls is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, but is no longer continuous. The walls themselves did not at any time encircle the town, as on the East where it was protected naturally by the Foss, no walls were erected. The lower parts of Bootham Bar and Micklegate Bar are Norman, but the other Bars and the present Walls generally date from Edward III. They were much damaged during the siege by the Parliamentary troops in 1644, but were immediately rebuilt, and they were restored in 1833. From Monk Bar we went on to St. William's College.

St. William's College was founded in 1453 for the parsons and chantry priests of the cathedral to reside in. St. William was William Fitzherbert, Archbishop from 1143 to 1154, with a break from 1147 to 1153, when he was deprived. He was buried in the Minster, and his tomb at once became an object of pilgrimage; he was canonised in 1304. At the Dissolution the College became private property. Charles I. set up the king's printing press in it, when he visited the city in 1641. Subsequently it fell on evil days and was split up into tenements. But recently Mr. Frank Green acquired it and transferred it to the Diocese for use as a Church House. It has now been carefully restored, the main fabric being original, while the grand staircase and other Jacobean adornments belong to the days when it was a private residence.

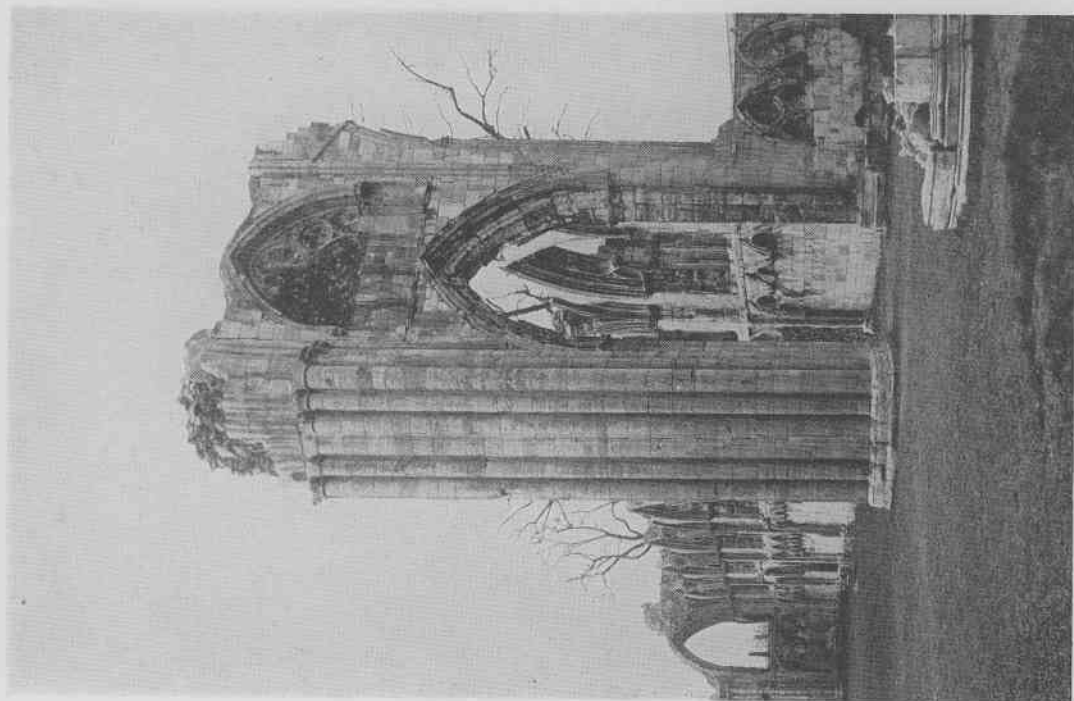
York.



St. William's College, Courtyard.

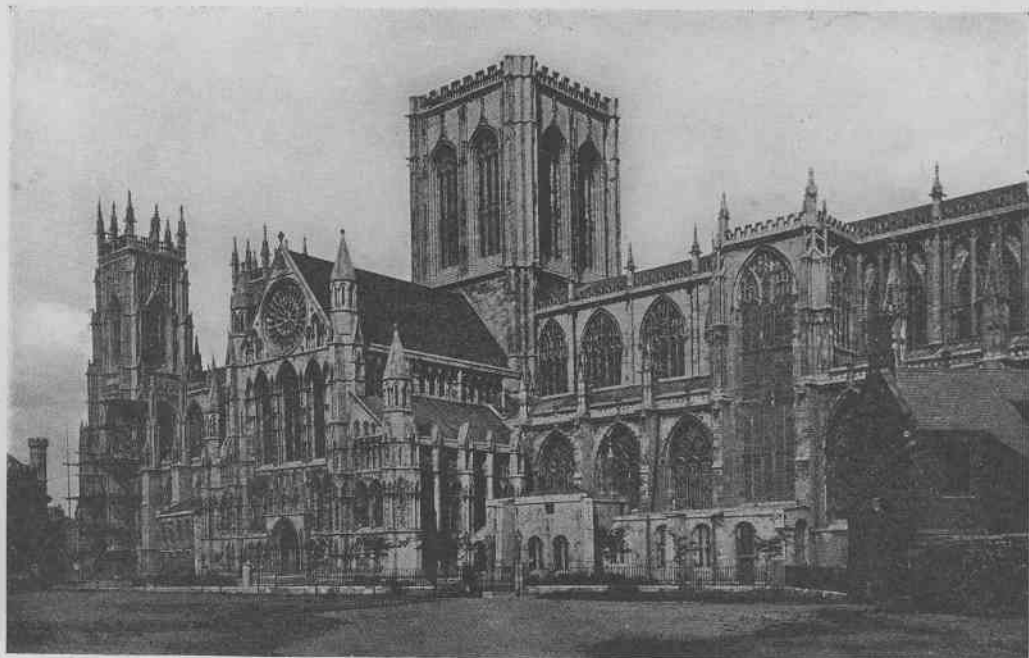


St. William's College.



St. Mary's Abbey.

York.



The Minster from the South East.

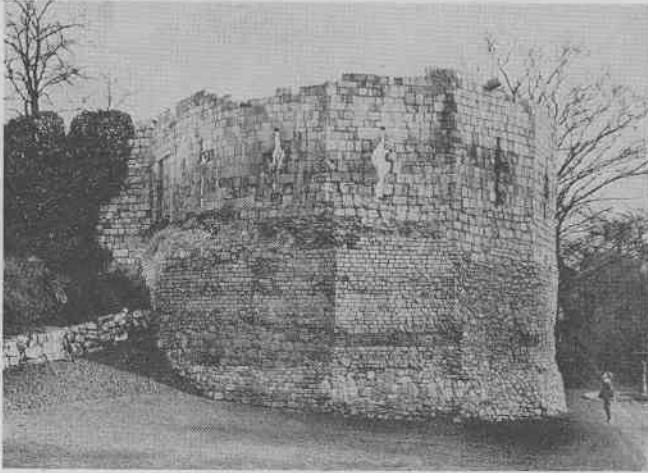


The Shambles.

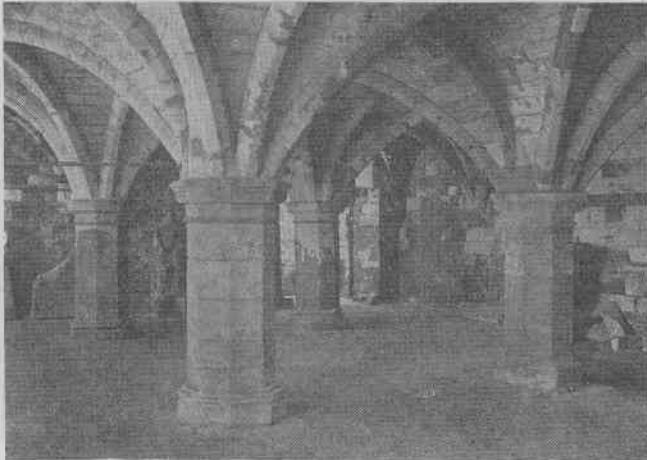


Low Petergate.

York.

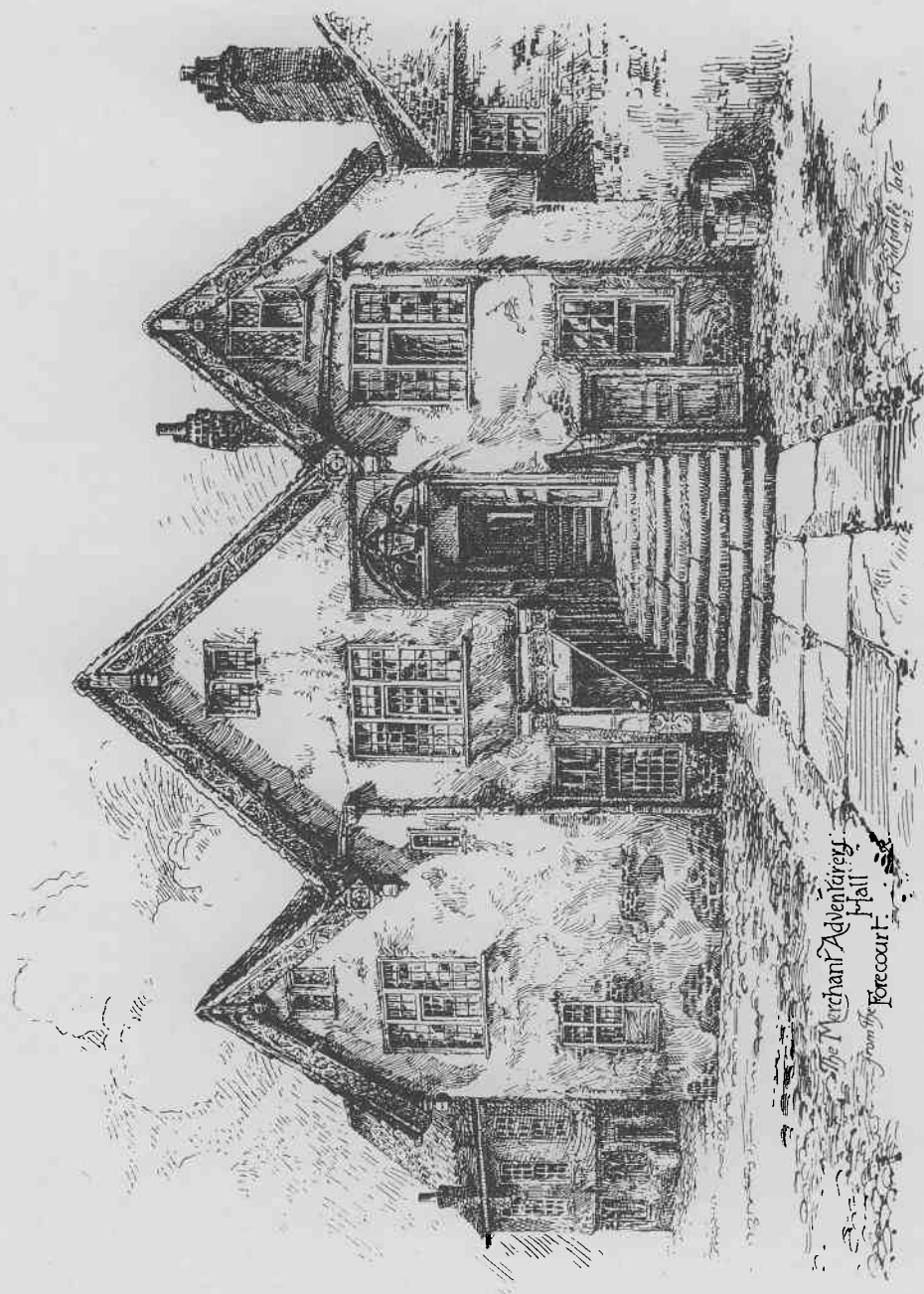


The Multangular Tower.



St. Leonard's Hospital. The Crypt.

York.



The Merchant Adventurers' Hall. From the Forecourt.

We then entered **the Minster**, and under the guidance of W. Bro. A. H. Barron (the Chapter Clerk), and Rev. F. Harrison (Librarian of the Dean and Chapter Library), explored all its glories, the glass, the Chapter House, the Crypt, and the Horn of Ulphas and other treasures in the Vestry. We could gladly have spent many more hours here, but programmes must be adhered to.

After lunch we visited the **Merchant Taylors' Hall**. This and the Merchant Adventurers' Hall are the only surviving Gild Halls of all that must at one time have existed in the City. The interior has been modernised, but the mediæval timber and brickwork is still to be seen, and the buildings comprise a hall, with additional chambers, and almshouses. Close to it are the excavations recently carried out by Mr. S. N. Miller, to explore the Roman fortifications and ascertain their dates and character. We were able to inspect the work under the expert guidance of the Rev. F. Harrison and Rev. A. Gill.

Roman York. In 1925 excavations were carried out at the east corner of the Roman fortress, where the original Roman walls turned from N. to E. and where it was anticipated that evidence might be discovered of a bastion corresponding to the bastion in the N.W. corner, the famous Multangular Tower now in the Museum grounds. From Monk Bar the mediæval wall and the Roman Wall run side by side Eastwards—the actual direction is nearly S.E.—for about 250 feet. The Roman Wall then curved and ran S.W. along a line passing east of Hawarden Place, across Bedern and King's Square. Mr. Miller cut trenches at the turn of the wall and also at Hawarden Place, and was able to demonstrate that the wall was associated with a rampart, and that both were preceded by a clay rampart, which from the evidence of the fragments of pottery was to be dated A.D. 75. It was further clear that this was not erected until some time after the site had been occupied, and that accordingly the date when the Romans first occupied York on any large scale must be put at about 71 A.D. In 74 A.D. the IX. Legion settled down into permanent occupation, and it was then that the clay rampart was constructed.

In the first half of the reign of Trajan this rampart was reinforced by a stone wall built in front of it. That was destroyed at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, and a new wall built which is what is seen to-day upon the site. There was a tower at this corner, of which the foundations have now been disclosed. At the end of the third century there was another destruction and another rebuilding with corner bastions, and it is to this period that the Multangular Tower is to be attributed. It is noteworthy that so much should have been definitely ascertained from the comparatively small amount of excavation carried out, and it indicates how much is still to be recovered by more extensive exploration.

On the west and north the mediæval walls followed the line of the Roman work and actually utilised it. On the east of Monk Bar they left the line of the earlier walls to go down to the Foss, and enclosed a considerable area on the other side of it, crossing the Hull Road at Walmgate, the only Bar that to-day still retains its barbican. They then ran down to the river, and resumed on the other side, at Baile Hill, on which William I. had a stronghold. The gap in between is filled by the Castle with the mound, now crowned by Clifford's Tower, on which William had yet another keep or castle for the overawing of his unwilling subjects of York. From Baile Hill they run to Micklegate, already referred to as still preserving its Norman Arch and sub-structure, and thence they run down to the Ouse at Lendal Bridge, where in mediæval times there used to stand two water towers between which a chain could be drawn.

From the Roman excavations we went on to the Hall of the **Merchant Adventurers** in Fossgate, passing through several typical streets, such as the Shambles, and Whip-ma-whop-ma Gate. At the Hall, Dr. Maud Sellers gave us a most interesting account of the building itself and of the Gilds to which it had belonged. The original foundation was a Religious Fraternity, licensed

in 1357, who built the chapel. In 1371 there was added a hospital with a Master and Chaplain. In 1430 the Merchants of York were incorporated by a charter of Henry VI., and this Hall was their headquarters. The religious guilds were abolished in 1547, but the Company continued to exercise control of a kind over trade in the city up to so late as 1827. Nowadays, its only activity is to maintain pensioners. The Hall itself has been carefully preserved and the chapel underneath it restored; outside it is a small garden, from which the timber and brick walls of the Hall itself can be seen and studied in detail.

For us the Hall of the Merchant Adventurers has a special interest, as it was here that the Grand Lodge of all England met when they were first so designated, and that Drake delivered his famous Oration as Junior Warden on December 27th, 1726. The Grand Lodge of all England, the Apollo Lodge, and the Union Lodge all met here at different times.

The York Plays. The Play and Pageant of Corpus Christi were at the close of the fourteenth century already being spoken of as matters of antiquity, but were in all probability first introduced into this country about fifty years earlier. The York cycle may date from 1360. They were always enacted by the Craft Gilds, or at all events at their expense; they seem on occasion to have engaged professional persons for speaking parts. In 1399 we have the twelve places at which the plays were to be presented in York duly prescribed. In 1415 we have a complete list of the scenes, with the several crafts responsible for each.

Drake, in his *Eboracum*, at p. xxix. of the Appendix, prints the ordinances and list of plays in full; Davies, in his *Extracts from Municipal Records*, gives an abridgment of Drake, at p. 232. There were originally 53 scenes, to which four dealing with the later history of the Virgin were subsequently added. The ecclesiastics were at pains to distinguish the purely religious processions from the plays, with which a certain amount of disorder was associated. They therefore appointed the plays for the vigil, and on the Feast day itself the Host was carried in solemn procession from the Minster to St. Leonard's Hospital, the procession having started from the Priory of the Trinity, a Benedictine house now represented by Trinity Church, near Micklegate. It would therefore very nearly perambulate the city. Originally the Masons presented Herod interrogating the three kings. This was afterwards allotted to the Goldsmiths, and the Masons took over from the Hospital of St. Leonard Mary with the Child and Simeon. At a still later date they seem to have taken over from the linen-weavers one of the incidents in the Life of the Virgin. In any case no connection can be traced between the subjects of the plays they undertook and their trade. On the subject generally, see, besides Drake and Davies, as cited, Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*.

That the Masons were among the City Gilds appears from these documents. In his grant of a Charter to the citizens of York in 1518, Henry VII. specifies the thirteen crafts and fifteen lower crafts which are entitled to send members to the Common Council; the Masons are among the fifteen. *Vide Drake*, at p. 207.

After tea in the Hall, by the kind invitation of the Governor of the Company, we went on to the **Castle and Clifford's Tower**. The structure itself is of the thirteenth century, and was preceded by a wooden keep in which in 1190 took place a famous massacre of the Jews of York. It owes its name to Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who rebuilt parts of it in 1642. In 1684 the interior was wrecked by an explosion. The other buildings in the enclosure are the Assize Courts and prisons with the Governor's House. We were permitted to penetrate to the older portions of the building and enter the cells of the old Debtor's Prison.

After dinner we again made our way to Duncombe Place, where the local Brethren entertained us with a delightful Smoking Concert. To light a 'Churchwarden' pipe is comparatively easy; to keep it alight another matter entirely, while to get it so packed that it will arrive at home intact is a problem that few will expect to succeed in solving. But we have preserved

the memories of a delightful evening among the Brethren of No. 236, even if we brought back nothing but fragments to show as tangible evidence of our entertainment.

On the Saturday we went by char-a-banc to **Helmsley**, where we visited the Castle, now in the hands of the Board of Works, under the guidance of Mr. W. Ball, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. C. H. Peers (Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments). The Church was also visited; it is mainly Early English, with remarkable mural paintings, to which it was not possible to devote enough time. After lunch we went on to **Rievaulx** Terrace, with its wonderful sweep of lawn and glorious views. We then went down to the Abbey itself, in a very different state from what it had been when the Lodge visited it previously. Now the foundations of the nave, cloisters, and chapter-house have been uncovered, and the whole ground plan of the monastic buildings has been disclosed. The apsidal chapter-house was particularly interesting, as this is the only known instance of this type of plan in a Cistercian house. We next visited **Byland**, which, like Rievaulx, is now a scheduled monument under the Office of Works, and is receiving the same careful treatment. Some very fine tessellated pavement has been uncovered in two Chapels in the South Transept, and the general plan of the Monastic buildings has been shown to possess features not known in any other Cistercian foundation in the County.

In the evening we were 'At Home' to the local Brethren. We did not attempt to emulate their musical entertainment, but Bro. Vibert read a short paper on York and York Masonry for the benefit of the Lodge and visitors to the City. He said:—

Bro. Songhurst asked me if I could put together something in the nature of a short address for this evening, with YORK as my text, but all I have to offer you is a few disjointed notes, the best feature of which you will find to be their brevity.

In fact, he gave me rather short notice, and to speak of York, in York, to an audience including a large number of York Brethren, experts not merely in York Masonry but in the history and archæology of their town and Minster, is an undertaking that seems to call for discretion rather than valour. But I am going to have a shot at it; I will ask the York Brethren to understand that I am not setting out to tell them anything they do not already know, and as for the others, may I assure each one individually that my remarks are not intended for him at all, but for such of the others as may still be, perhaps, not absolutely conversant with the subject of the City and its connection with the Craft.

Of York before the Romans there is not much to be said; but in Roman times it was an important military centre, because it lay between two important roads, one running north from Lincoln to the coast north of Scarborough, and the other running through Doncaster, Tadcaster, and Aldborough to Hadrian's Wall, and this was the great military highway of the island. To each of these York was connected by two roads, while a fifth may have linked it directly with the northern system of fortifications via Northallerton and Chester-le-Street. In A.D. 306 it witnessed the death of one Roman Emperor, Constantius, and the election of another, the great Constantine. This is a distinction that cannot, I imagine, be claimed by any other British city. Long before the days of St. Augustine it had received Christianity from the Scotie Church of Iona, the Church of the Culdees; and it maintained the special features of the British use, until the synod of Whitby in 664. The Culdees were still the ecclesiastics in charge of the Minster, or its predecessor as late as Athelstan's day, according to the tradition given by Gould at p. 52 of his *History*, and it is from his grant to these people that St. Leonard's Hospital came to be founded. I need hardly remind you of the specifically Masonic tradition that connects Edwin with York, that Edwin who obtained a Charter from Athelstan for the Masons, and who convened an Assembly here in 926. But the circumstances of that grant are better left for the investigation of students and historians; for the present I can only say that its terms have not been preserved.

But in the middle ages there is no doubt that York was the second city in the kingdom. What had originally been a military highway was now the great trade route from North to South. And the river was there to link it with the sea and all the

seaborne trade of Northern Europe. The importance of the city was reflected in the number and splendour of its Gilds. We have seen something of the survival of two of them, the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchant Taylors. In 1415 there were 57 Crafts in the City having Gilds, and York is one of the few towns where the Craft Gilds definitely participated in the government of the town. I have not been able to consult Davies, who gives details in his *York Records*; but I would like to suggest that some local brother might well do so and tell us if the town Masons had a gild, and what share they took in the York Plays. At the Minster, the Masons were fully organized; they had a regular Lodge the regulations of which have come down to us and are preserved in the Fabric Rolls. But these were definitely Freemasons, and quite probably kept rigidly distinct from the less skilful and less honourable body in the town, which could build little more than plain dwelling houses, at all events at this period. The relations between the two bodies of craftsmen deserve to be studied in any town of sufficient importance to have had both organised within its boundaries. York is the best example of such a town that I know of; once more may I offer a suggestion that perhaps some of the local Brethren may be able to take up.

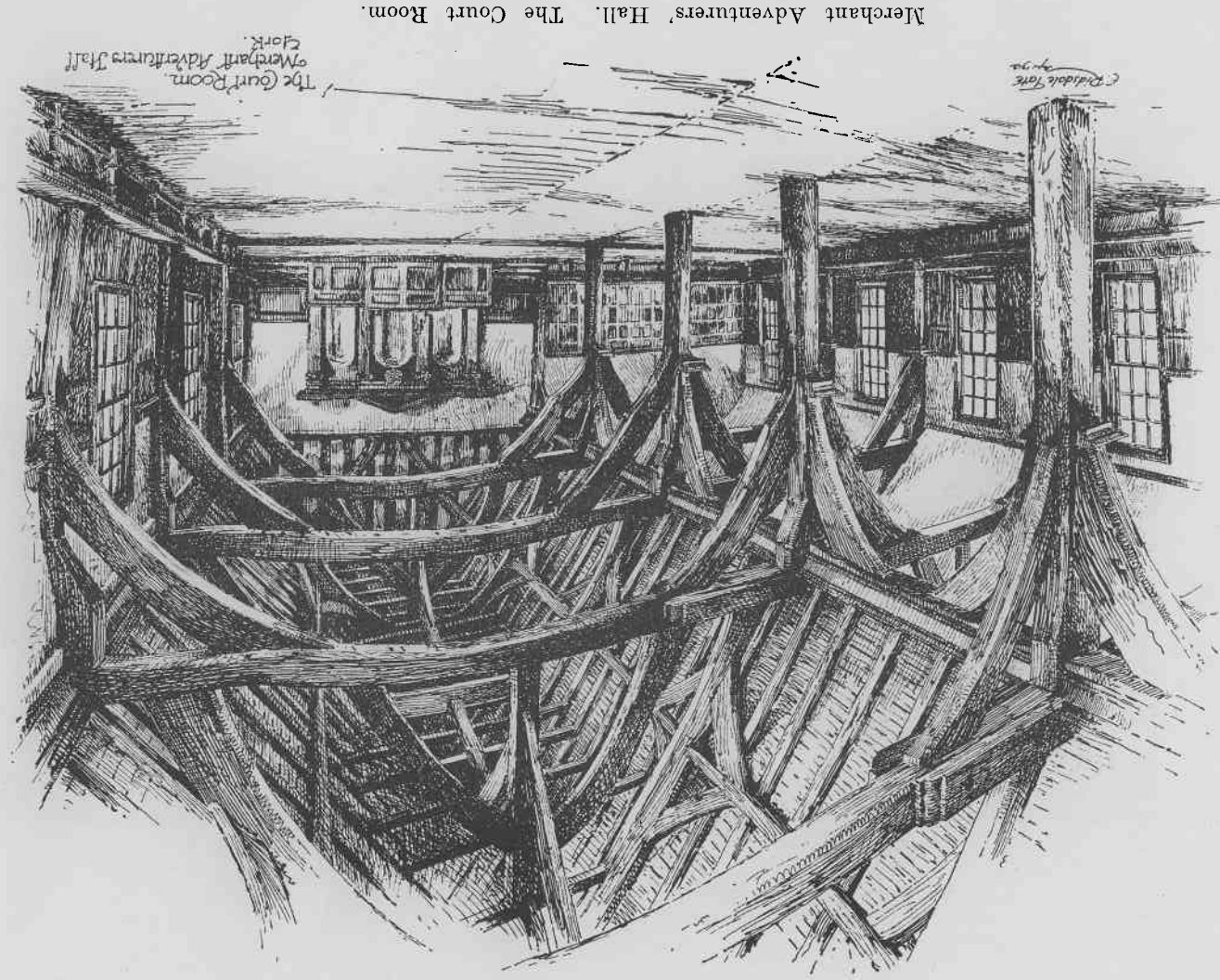
The Masons at the Cathedral in 1355 were already speaking of their ancient customs, and this is at a date anterior to the very oldest text of those customs that has come down to us. They remind us, as we would expect, of our Old Charges and their injunctions, but they also, in a rather surprising way, show us practices in force which are clearly preserved in our Lodges, although naturally in a somewhat altered form. The Brethren in this fourteenth century were called off from labour to refreshment and called on again by a knock given on the door of the Lodge by one of the masters. Now these old rules, of which there is a partial transcript in Gould, and a somewhat fuller one in Begemann, which however suffers from the disadvantage of being in the German language, only exist completely in the *Transactions* of the Surtees Society, vol. xxxv., published in 1859. They are of extraordinary interest and the Fabric Rolls contain many details about the Craft, its work, its relations with the authorities and so on, which are most important if only we could get hold of them. Once more may I make a suggestion; may I propose to the local Brethren that they consider the question of reproducing the *Ordinaciones Caementariorum* of their Minster for the instruction of the Craft?

Although there is no direct evidence of it we may be fairly confident that when it became the custom for the Lodges to have, not merely written copies of their ancient code, but texts of their history,—what we to-day call the Old Charges,—the Masons of the Minster will not have been behind their Brethren elsewhere in the country in this respect. Certainly the county has produced its share of versions of the old manuscripts. And as we have seen here in York there are no less than five copies in the possession of one Lodge. Actually the oldest of them does not date back to the days of the Cathedral Builders by a century and more, but we know that in every case these documents were copied from earlier specimens, the process going back to the fifteenth century at all events. So that just when York first became possessed of a text we cannot conjecture. But we shall apparently be safe in asserting that at all events early in the sixteenth century such documents as they possessed agreed in saying that Edwin summoned the Masons to meet at York.

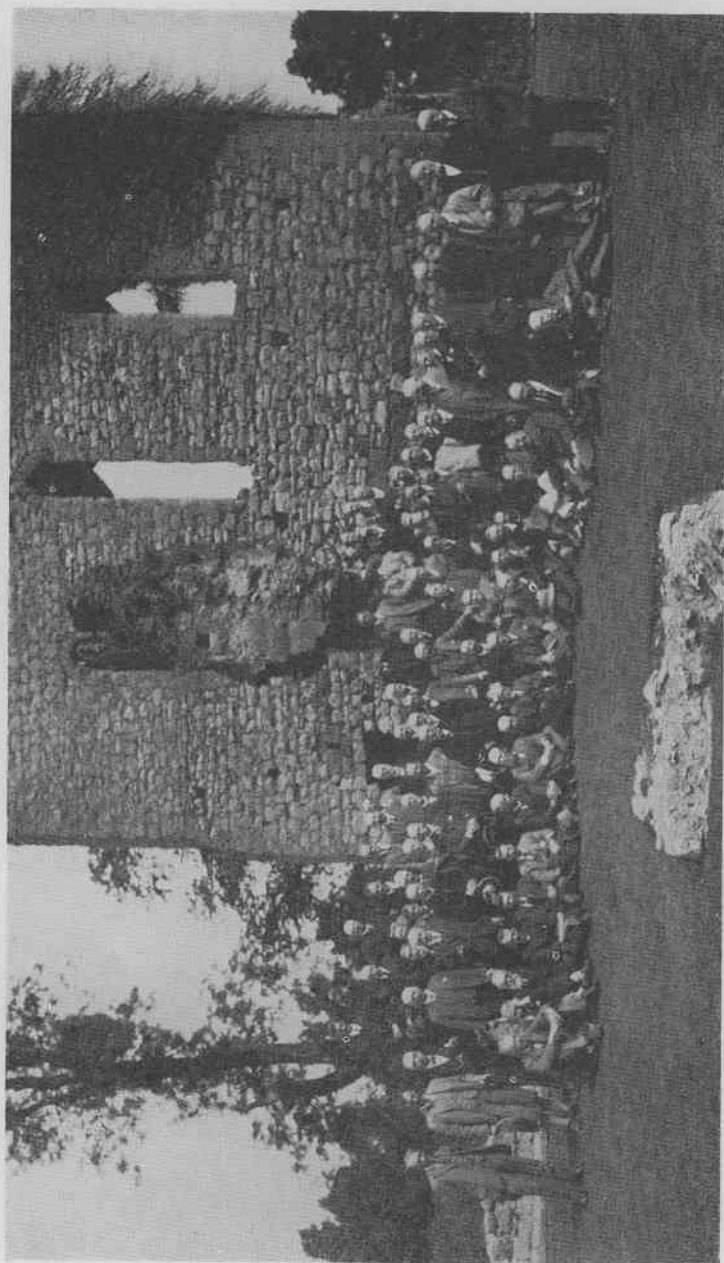
Now if we remember that York was the second city in the country, we can understand that that statement would suggest itself to anyone who came from at all events north of Trent. It would not be such a statement as would occur to a Londoner or south-countryman, who if he must have a town in the Provinces, would be more likely to suggest Winchester or perhaps Oxford. Manchester hardly existed in those benighted times, you must recollect, nor was even Liverpool much of a centre. This suggests to me that the learned man who, at some date early in the sixteenth century recast the old history of the Craft, making it shorter in some respects and cutting out all the learned quotations, but amplifying the bit about his own country, hailed from north of Trent. If this is too much, at least he was in touch with, and in sympathy with, the Craft in the Minster City. And who would not be, if he had once been among them?

Now we get another odd little piece about the Craft in York a century or two later, but it is this time dependent on an authority that I must admit is highly

York.



Merchant Adventurers' Hall. The Court Room.



At Helmsley Castle.

suspect. But the fact does not detract from the picturesqueness of the Incident. Queen Elizabeth, so Anderson assures us, failed to appreciate architecture. But hearing that the Masons had certain secrets that could not be revealed to her, and being jealous, she sent an armed force to break up their annual Grand Lodge at York on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1561. Once more, after the lapse of many centuries, you observe the tradition persisting of an annual meeting at York. But the designs of good Queen Bess were frustrated. Grand Master Sackville took care to make Freemasons some of the chief men she had sent, who then joining in the annual meeting, went back and made a very honourable report to the Queen. She came to the conclusion that the Masons were peculiar but harmless people and left them alone for the rest of her reign. Now this tale has always been dismissed as one of Anderson's. Even G. M. Sackville appears to have no foundation in fact. But has it ever been seriously examined? There must be old municipal records or chronicles which will establish if there was at any time a visitation on the Queen's behalf by Sir Thomas Sackville. If he did come, then what was it all about? The story may be a complete fabrication, but from the impression I have of Anderson, I seem to feel that there must be somewhere a grain of fact on which this pleasing edifice has been constructed. York he would find in his old texts, as also the Annual congregation; but why Sir Thomas? Once more can our local experts discover for us record of some incident in which Queen Bess tried to take on one or other of the local authorities or institutions, and came off second best; and what else could she expect?

Of the history of the particular Lodge with which we have been so closely associated during the last few days I need not speak; nor need I refer to the Grand Lodge whose records have been shown us by their proud owners. But I will just say this; that the records establish what otherwise we should have nothing to indicate except the very brief remarks of Plot, that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Masonry was indeed spread over the whole country although it has left hardly a trace of this period of its existence. There were as yet no Grand Lodges; the private Lodges themselves were quite loosely organised and did not trouble to keep records. But here in York there was undoubtedly some sort of central body that was in touch with the Masons of the county; it was the first germ of the development that eventually became the Grand Lodge system. We need not be surprised therefore to find that when the Grand Lodge of England came into existence in London and Westminster—although it did not at first call itself that—the Brethren up here declined to see in this anything new or anyone entitled to give them orders. They could call themselves a Grand Lodge as well as another—and they did so. With the history of this body you are all as familiar as I am, and have been so long since. But not till now perhaps have some of you been able to get acquainted with those who to-day preserve the York tradition, and who derive their Masonic descent from the Brethren of the Lodge of 1712 and earlier. But now that you have discovered our York Brethren you will realise the genuineness, the Masonic enthusiasm, and the hospitable zeal that is implied in the words 'Freemasonry in York.'

The local Brethren were not however prepared to allow even a hint of criticism or doubt of their Masonic record to pass unchallenged. Bro. C. E. L. Livesey took up the cudgels on their behalf, and in the course of his reply said:—

Worshipful Master and Brethren,—A few moments after Bro. Vibert had commenced reading his delightful paper to us a note was passed to me asking if I would speak in reply. Considering however the learning and erudition which we expect and always get from Bro. Vibert, I have no intention of attempting an examination and criticism of his paper.

One of the chief functions of a University Research Professor is to suggest work for other people to do, and so you will observe how admirably qualified Bro. Vibert is for such a post. He has suggested various lines of Masonic research in this city for those qualified to undertake it—research which will require an abundance of time, patience and ability, and, quite seriously, I do consider the suggestions he has made to be well worthy of deep consideration, and if he will leave us a copy of his address we will see how far the Chapter Clerk and others responsible for the ancient documents of the Minster and the City can be persuaded to assist us in those researches.

With regard to our traditions, we rather anticipated that they might receive somewhat rough treatment from such a keen body of Masonic students as are represented in the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, but we are not in the very least perturbed. We are the proud trustees of those traditions, and glory in their possession. Any Andersonian statement we expect to be treated by Bro. Vibert in that pungent and illuminating but destructive manner he has taught us to expect from him when dealing with Dr. Anderson.

But as one who has had a scientific training I must stick to my principles unwaveringly. We have been taught that all our theories and hypotheses are not only to be held tenaciously, but upheld vigorously so long as they are fruitful, and until such time as some definitely determined fact is discovered which does not square with the theory—or which even actively opposes it. Then, and not till then, are we to relinquish our theory or suffer it to undergo alteration. Very well, then, so soon as Bro. Vibert can bring to us some definitely determined fact in direct opposition to our ancient traditions we will consider it with the attention it deserves, but until such is forthcoming we shall proudly hold to our Ancient York traditions, and glory in the antiquity we claim as our own.

We in York, whether due to our geographical position or whatever the cause, have always been subject to invasions from the early times of the wild Celts, whom we are told were comparatively civilised—they always gave their captives the choice between slavery and death!

Later on we had raids from over the Border by the rude Picts and Scots—untameable marauders from the North, and following these were the plundering searovers from the East, so you see we had to get accustomed to land savages from the North and heathen pirates from the South and East.

In later years all this warring of the elements centred round York as a sort of buffer state, and we have had to entertain many and varied hosts—welcome and otherwise. But whatever invasions we of this ancient city have had in the past, none has ever been so welcome to us as the second visit of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

There is just one quotation which I put into my pocket before coming here to-night, as I felt it might possibly be of some use; it refers to that great scholar and teacher, Alcuin:—

“In later years, when Alcuin, the student, had become Alcuin the Master of the Palace School and Minister of Education to the most renowned prince of Christendom, he writes begging for leave to send youths to England who may obtain thence necessary books and so bring into France the Flowers of Britain, ‘that the Garden of Paradise be no more confined to York.’”

Well, Brethren, if you have derived pleasure from your visit we are delighted that you should have come again to gather roses from this ancient City of York; we rejoice to have had you for your very good company and for much Masonic inspiration you have given us.

Later on in the evening the opportunity was taken to express our thanks to all the Brethren who had contributed so splendidly to the success of the Outing and to our comfort all through our visit.

On the Sunday morning we attended service at the Minster, and were so fortunate as to hit on Assize Sunday, and to see His Majesty's Judges of Assize and the Lord Mayor and Corporation attending service in state. Eventually the 4.1 train brought the London Brethren home, after what all agreed was a most delightful and instructive Outing, not the least admirable part of which was the perfect weather we enjoyed throughout.

The views of the Micklegate and Monk Bar are reproduced from Water Colour Drawings by Bro. F. A. Powell. The other views of York are from blocks made available through the kindness of Bros. Gilbert Y. Johnson and W. Delittle. The group at Helmsley Castle is from a Photograph taken by Bro. Horatio R. Wood.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

MONDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1926.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. John Stokes, P.G.D., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, I.P.M.; W. W. Covey-Crump, S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., as J.W.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. Walter Hobbs.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Rev. Preb. G. H. Perry, G.Ch., C. A. Newman, J. Stewardson, Sir A. A. Brooke Pechell, W. J. Williams, W. R. Girling, John W. Hall, E. W. Marson, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., E. Warburton, W. F. Swan, Geo. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., Ed. M. Phillips, H. E. McMeel, F. Brown, Rev. Joseph Johnson, P.A.G.Ch., W. Francis, J. W. V. Mason, J. H. Earls, C. E. Newman, E. J. Church, H. Franklin, Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., W. Young Hucks, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., A. F. Ford, Chas. S. Ayling, H. Johnson, L. G. Wearing, Max Infeld, T. Smith, A. Sutherland, W. H. Rowlands, Geo. Young, L. Sykes, A. E. Gurney, P. H. Horley, W. Emmerson, J. W. Goldburg, R. Wheatley, A. H. Marchant, Allan Ramsay, F. Vuillermoz, W. Stubbings, J. F. R. Pratti, A. Y. Mayell, Edwin Evans, and R. J. Sadleir.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Vere M. Moore, East Sheen Lodge No. 4173; C. Crump, P.M., St. Augustine's Lodge No. 3713; John Burgess, P.Pr.G.D.C., Worcester; A. W. Neale, Vincent Lodge No. 3031; J. H. Randell, P.M., Victoria Lodge No. 2671; Alfred H. Durnford, Finsbury Lodge No. 861; H. Marlow, Star of Croydon Lodge No. 4286; Harold W. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; F. Tate, W.M., Porchway Lodge No. 4675; H. Y. Steel, Kentish Lodge No. 3021; and W. G. Jones, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. G. W. Daynes, I.G.; Rev. H. Poole, S.D.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

On Ballot taken:—

BRO. JOSEPH WALTER HOBBS. Residing at 23, Brandreth Road, Balham, London, S.W.17, Literary Author and Editor. P.M. of Piccadilly Lodge No. 2550, and P.M. of St. Mary Balham Lodge No. 3661. L.R. Author of papers on *Westminster Abbey*; *The Call of the Craftsmen*; *Grand Lodge*; published in *Masonic Record*; *An Irish Minute Book, 1782-1797*; *The Antiquity of Freemasonry*; *Anthony Sayer, Gentleman*; in *A.Q.C.*; *Masonic Ritual described, compared and explained, 1923*; *Lodge and After Dinner Speaking, 1924*;

was regularly elected a joining member of the Lodge.

One Masonic Club and Nineteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. the Rev. Walter William Covey-Crump, M.A., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. John Stokes.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. George Norman	S.W.
„ Rev. H. Poole	J.W.
„ E. Armitage	Treasurer
„ W. J. Songhurst	Secretary
„ Gordon P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ H. C. de Lafontaine	S.D.
„ G. W. Daynes	J.D.
„ J. Walter Hobbs	I.G.
„ J. H. MacNaughton	Tyler

The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—“That W.Bro. John Stokes, Past Grand Deacon, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge: and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Dr. S. H. PERRY, of Spalding.

JEWEL: Engraved Silver Plate. Formerly belonging to “Henry Young, Lodge No. 512.” This Lodge is the present No. 272, the Lodge of Harmony at Boston, Lines., which bore the No. 512 from 1814 to 1832. Bro. Henry Young was later a schoolmaster at Spalding and was Master of the Welland Lodge there in 1827. This was No. 679 at the Union, but was erased in 1838. Bro. Young was also founder and first Master of the Hundred of Elloe Lodge, now No. 469, which was constituted in Spalding in 1840.

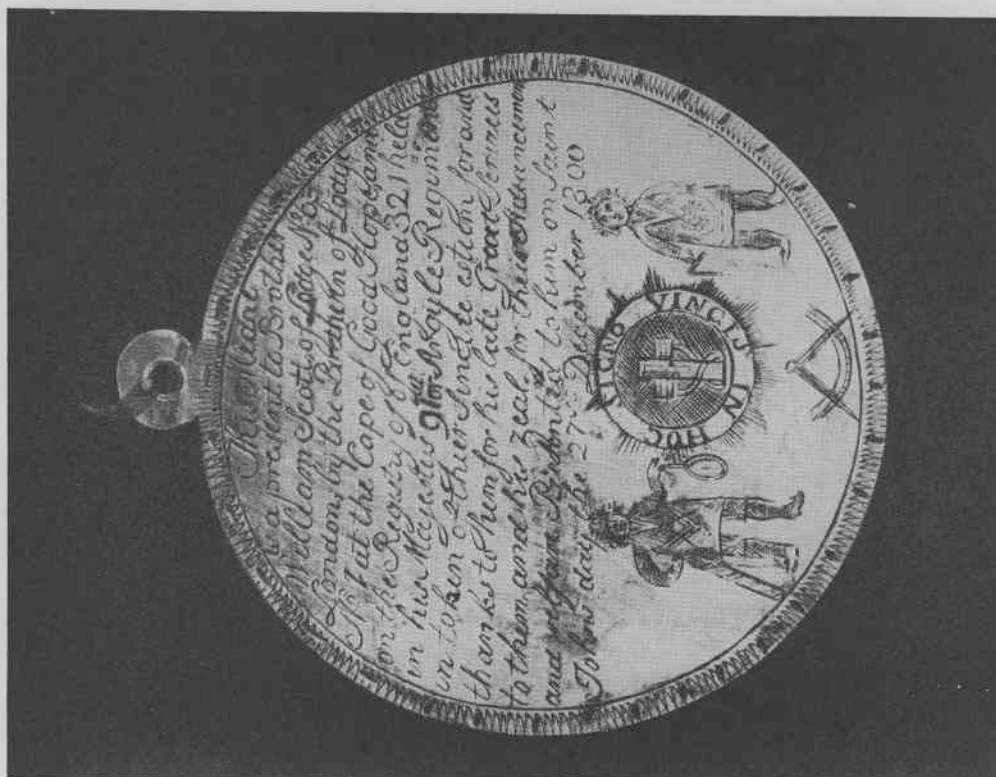
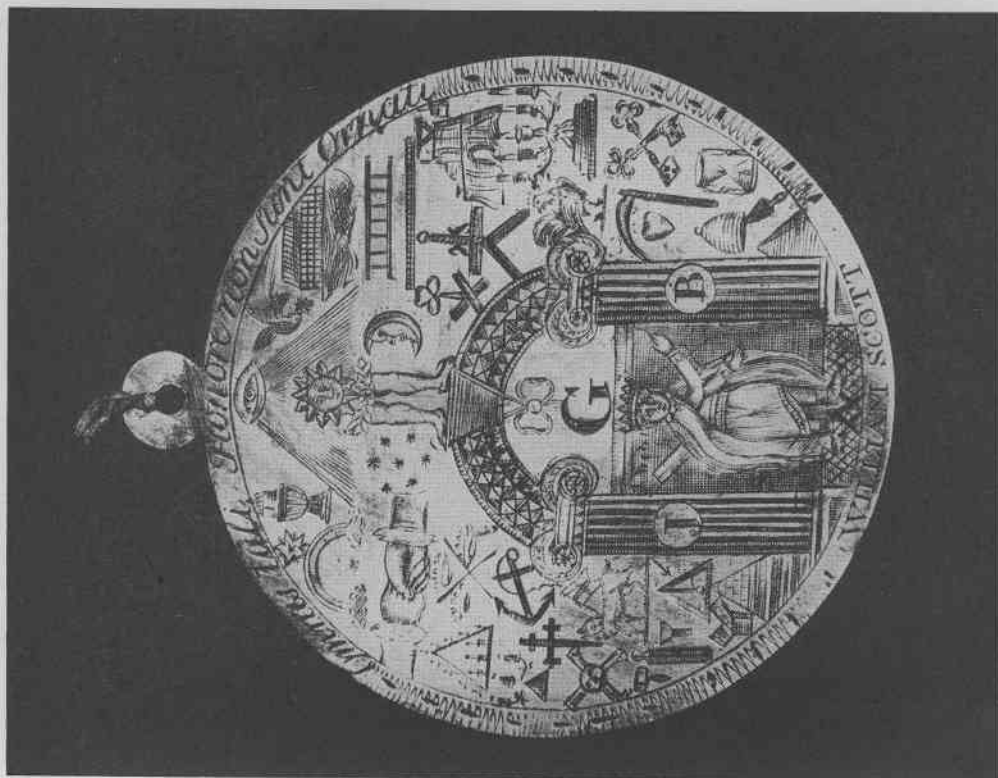
By Bro. THOS. L. CRANSTOUN-DAY, of Cape Town.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Full size, of Silver Jewel, presented in 1800 to William Scott, a member of Lodge No. 63, London (present St. Mary's Lodge) for services rendered in the formation of a Lodge in the 91st Regt. at the Cape. Bro. Scott was a ship's Captain and took the necessary petition and fees to England, where he obtained a Dispensation authorising him to congregate the Brethren and constitute them into a Lodge.

The photographs were taken by the courtesy of V.W.Bro. G. J. Hoffman, of Lodge De Goede Hoop.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who kindly sent these objects for exhibition.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER then delivered the following



Jewel presented to William Scott in Cape Town, December, 1800.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.



ET me commence with an expression of gratitude to you, my Brethren, by whose kindness I am placed to-night in a proud and honourable position. This kindness I realise the more because my province of Masonic research has been rather outside that in which most of my predecessors here have been leaders. Indeed I am dubious whether some of the revered founders of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge would not have deemed my line of investigations extraneous to the particular objects for which this Lodge was established. Freemasonry has had many distinguished antiquarians—especially among Past Masters of this Lodge—but I can only claim to be their disciple. In the classification of Old Charges, or the relative rarity of editions of our Constitutions, I am not an adept; whilst of relics—whether in glass, metals, prints or fabrics—I have never been a collector. My attraction in Masonry has been towards its present rather than its past; my aim has been to strengthen our Craft as a building power to-day—by showing its members the inspiration enshrined in our ancient allegories and the moral system illustrated by our symbols. Nevertheless, I trust you will accept this assurance that I shall do my utmost to preserve the reputation, vitality and purposes of this Lodge; and I know you will be lenient to my deficiencies, both conscious and unconscious.

And now, having been installed in this Mastership, let me follow a long-established precedent by addressing you upon that Masonic subject in which I best feel qualified, whilst endeavouring to eschew views controversial, and fantasies unworthy of your consideration.

That Masonic ceremonies are to a considerable extent based upon statements in the Bible is a fact obvious to every member of the Craft. Our ritual abounds in allusions to Biblical events and Biblical persons. But the phrases or incidents in connection with which those allusions figure in Masonic narratives are not entirely supportable by Biblical authority, though they are not thereby devoid of inherent probability. Let me illustrate what I mean. That Joshua was a great military leader during the Hebrew conquest of Canaan is a fact which no student of history would dispute; but as regard a statement that on a specified occasion Joshua assumed a certain position whilst praying fervently to the Almighty, I need not tell you that no such assertion occurs in the Bible. Need I add that the difficulty is not entirely removed by attributing the act to Moses instead of Joshua? Or, to take another instance, that when King Solomon's temple was built two great pillars were erected at its entrance is a fact attested by the anonymous writer of *I. Kings*, and confirmed by the evidence of Jeremiah who saw those pillars demolished four centuries afterwards by the soldiers of Nebuchadrezzar. Moreover, that each of those two pillars was at first distinguished by a name is clear both from statements in the Bible and Josephus.¹ But, when we come to the amplification that those names were respectively derived from an ancestor of David and from a priest who is alleged to have taken a prominent part at the dedication, we are again outside scriptural authority.

The foregoing instances, and others like them, therefore invite our examination, to discover the extent to which the non-Biblical accretions are supportable by other evidence, and sources from which they may have drifted into our oral traditions.

Our inquiry will therefore involve two questions, viz.:—(1) To what extent are these quasi-Biblical assertions based upon Holy Writ? and (2) What is the relative historical value of those component parts which are not so based?

¹ I. Kgs. vii., 21; II. Chron. iii., 17; Jos. Ant. viii., 3, 4.

To avoid controversial points two reasonable postulates must be stipulated:—(1) That the V. of the S.L. shall be considered “the unerring standard of truth,” when referred back to the text in the original tongue and thereby freed from results of faulty translation; and (2) that in any case of doubt or difficulty the opinions of impartial Biblical expositors shall be accepted *ad valorem* so long as they do not involve emendations of the text.

The list of statements to be examined will accordingly comprise the following items, which I will place in chronological sequence without prejudice to their relative prominence in Scripture or their importance in Freemasonry:—

1. The reference to the children of Lamech, and the signification of the name Tubal-Cain.
2. The names given to the two pillars on the threshold of King Solomon's temple, and the reasons attributed for the adoption of those names.
3. The construction of a winding staircase giving access to a Middle Chamber, and the temporary use made of that Chamber by craftsmen.
4. The tragedy of Solomon's chief artificer.

The last item, however, involves difficulties so numerous and crucial that I think you will agree with me that its discussion should have an evening to itself; and therefore I ask your permission to delete it from consideration to-night, with a view to inflicting a continuation of this inquiry upon you in a few months' time—before my term of office expires.

There are in Masonry other quasi-Biblical allusions—but they likewise must be left outside the scope of our present purview, because they pertain mainly (if not entirely) to Grades extraneous to the ordinary Craft degrees. Such, for instance, are the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, the appointment of Adoniram as Hiram's successor, the rejection of a certain curiously wrought stone and the discovery of a secret subterranean vault; besides minor matters such as the tools of Noah, the migration of Phaleg, the Enochian legend, a reverential sign made use of in the time of Moses, and the key found in a lion's mouth in the time of Othniel. All these are interesting in their way, but we must confine our inquiry within *Craft* limits to-night.

Let us accordingly commence with the familiar reference to the children of Lamech, and the wonderful discoveries attributed to them. The statements—both in the Bible and in our Masonic records—concerning them are so well-known to you that I will not repeat them. When we look elsewhere for evidence we can start from the certainty that somewhere and somewhen a first artificer in metals (*i.e.*, a maker and whetter of tools and weapons) there must have been, just as there must have been an inventor of musical instruments and a first pastoral nomad who dwelt in a tent instead of a cave. That a fairly advanced state of civilization and generally-diffused knowledge of simple arts did exist in the district south-east of the Caspian Sea, about the end of the fourth millenium B.C., is a fact established beyond controversy. The people there were of a Mongoloid race, speaking a language of the Alarodian family, and therefore akin, both in race and tongue, to the progenitors of those dwellers in Mesopotamia from whom have descended the traditions recorded in Genesis and the Chaldean Deluge-tablets. There are practically no rival claimants; for at that remote period Europe was still in the Neolithic Age, the Aryan immigrations had hardly begun, and the Semites were still in their original habitat—wherever that may have been. In regarding those culture heroes—Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-Cain—as brothers, sons of one and the same father, our Old Charges have obviously followed the statement in Genesis. Whether they really were three brothers (or even contemporary individuals), or were mythical demigods, or were eponymous tribes, are questions for Biblical exegetes and anthropologists to settle. Whatever explanation they may determine is sure to harmonize with Genesis, and therefore will be accepted by Freemasons.

The peculiar accretion which more particularly concerns us is the assertion that Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-Cain foresaw the imminence of an overwhelming catastrophe, and that they (or one of them) recorded their inventions on two pillars. We need not assume that their delineations were anything more than a crude form of picture-writing, such as must have preceded that stage of phonetic values which had already been reached when the Egyptian and Akkadian records were made. Nor need we concern ourselves with the question whether the Noachic Deluge was universal. All that is implied is that it was expected to be sufficiently extensive to obliterate their civilization.

But what is really and clearly involved in our Old Charges is the tradition that once upon a time, and somewhere east of the Mediterranean, certain inscriptions on stone and baked clay had been discovered, so prehistoric as to be deemed antediluvian in origin. That this tradition had a substantial basis seems clear from the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions which have been made known to us during the last half-century. But we must remember that when the story contained in our Old Charges was compiled, the very existence of cuneiform clay-tablets was unsuspected.

How, then, did this tradition find its way into our Old Charges? Bro. Gould pointed out years ago that the nearest parallel to it occurs first in Higden's *Polychronicon*, which was written about 1345. Higden himself claimed Josephus as his authority as also did Isidorus of Seville, and although allusions to these pillars occur also in other writings (during early Christian centuries) those writings seem too obscure to have been known in England in the fourteenth century, so we need not hesitate to accept Higden's ascription. But when we compare his statement with the actual words of Josephus we find that the latter ascribed the erection of the pillars to descendants of Seth—not to the children of Lamech. That Higden had seen a copy of Josephus' *Antiquities* is very probable, and he certainly had read the *Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor; but, writing from memory, he may have confused the two narratives, and so produced (as a *tertium quid*) that assertion which in the following century we find incorporated in the regulations of operative Masonry. The persistence of the word *lateres*, which proved so puzzling to subsequent copyists, shows that Trevisa's translation was not known then, and thus may enable us to fix the date approximately as 1350-1387.

Before leaving the subject of the children of Lamech we must notice another assertion likewise independent of Scripture; namely, that the import of *Tubal-Cain* is "Worldly Possessions." Nothing is ever said in our Old Charges as to the meaning of the name Tubal-Cain, for that was a matter of no importance in those days. Not until 1743 is the name said to have had a place in the ritual, and the assertion as to its import was not introduced till many years after that. The signification "Worldly Possessions" appears in a marginal note to Gen. iv., 22, in the Genevan Version of 1560, and therefore it may safely be attributed to the Marian refugees who edited that Version. Unfortunately they assumed that the primæval language was Hebrew, an assumption which in the light of modern philology is seen to be untenable. And even if the antediluvians had spoken Hebrew, this alleged meaning of "*Tubal-cain*" would have been a barbarism—if by the term "worldly possessions" is meant "one's acquired goods and chattels" (as distinct from real estate).¹ Its nearest Hebrew equivalent would seem to be *tibloth m'qnim*, which obviously is a long way from *tubal-qain*.

Some linguistic authorities have preferred to assert that *Tubal-cain* signifies "*Tubal a smith*." The Kenites in the time of the Israelites may have been smiths, but that furnishes a very precarious etymology for a prehistoric name which in all probability was not Hebrew at all.

In 1894, when my friend and predecessor—the late W. Bro. Dr. C. J. Ball—occupied this Chair, he suggested an identity of *Tubal-cain* with a fire deity worshipped by those Altaic people whom I have already mentioned as

¹ Κτήματα κοσμικά as distinguished from Χρήματα γηούχα.

primitive metal-workers. The cuneiform name of that fire-deity was read by Bro. Ball as *Bal-gin*; and on a tablet-text now in the British Museum it is said concerning him:—

“Copper and lead thou meltest them;
 “Gold and silver thou refinest them;
 “To Ningusi thou art a brother.”¹

Such statements would of course apply very appropriately to what we are told about Tubal-cain; and therefore Bro. Ball suggested that the name Tubal-cain might be a Semitic derivative from this Akkadian word *Balgin*. Similarly he thought the Latin deity *Vulcan* had also come from this same primitive *Balgin*. In the main, Bro. Ball's hypothesis obviously rested upon a supposed similarity of the names *Tubal-cain*, *Balgin* and *Vulcan*. But unfortunately that support collapsed years ago; because no other competent archæologist would confirm his reading “*Balgin*” for the cuneiform name, and it is now usually read as *Gibil* or *Girru*. Thus we are still left in the dark as to the etymology of *Tubal-cain*, whilst as regards the name *Vulcan* we can only say that its similarity to *Tubal-cain* is an unexplained coincidence, far too thin to support an identity.

Let us next consider the names applied to the pillars erected on the threshold of Solomon's temple; and the reasons adduced for the adoption of those names. Here I have been anticipated by Bros. Wonnacott, Baxter, Gordon Hills and other predecessors whose researches have from time to time embellished our *Transactions*. The Biblical records concerning those pillars are contained in I. Kings vii., Jer. lii., and II. Chron. iii. They exhibit several discrepancies, but being merely in regard to dimensions and minor details, those discrepancies need not detain us now; especially as the vagaries about cartographical globes surmounting them and a heavy metallic network being *thrown* over them have never formed part of our ceremonies or Charges, but occur only in eighteenth century Catechisms which subsequently crystallized into Lectures and Explanations of the T.B. The case, however, is very different as regards their nomenclature. In I. Kings we are told:—“He set up the right pillar and called the name thereof Jachin, and he set up the left pillar and called the name thereof Boaz” (I. Kgs. vii., 21.) The only other historical authorities on the subject are Josephus and Eusebius,² who quotes from a lost work by a Greek writer named Eupolemos concerning whose credibility we unfortunately know very little.

Josephus agrees with the author of I. Kings in saying that the names of the pillars were appointed by Hiram, whereas the Chronicler attributes them to Solomon. But this discrepancy is immaterial, since in either case the names were Hebrew and whatever symbolical significance they had was Hebrew. Indeed, if they had been Phœnician they would still have had practically the same meaning. As to that meaning we can safely say *Boaz* denotes “in Him is strength” and *Jachin* “He will establish.” Our question is why those particular names were adopted. We might even ask “why were the pillars named at all?” Whatever the cause for that may have been, it did not apparently commend itself to Hebrew minds; for as the names are never mentioned afterwards they evidently did not cling very long.³

One of the motives for naming them would emerge if we pursued an inquiry as to the reasons why these enormous columns were cast, conveyed and erected on the threshold of God's house; but we have not the time for that now. They were not simply ornaments. Whether standing detached or supporting a screen or any other structure they were apparently regarded as an essential of the religion. In every Hebrew sanctuary at that time sacred monoliths were

¹ Ningusi was a war-god worshipped at Lagash in Babylonia. The quotation is given by Maspero, in his *Dawn of Civil.*, 635.

² Jos. Ant. viii., 3, 4; Eus. *Praep. Evan.* ix., 34.

³ I think the pillars were subsequently called חֶסֶד (Mercy) and אֱמֶת (Truth).

indispensable adjuncts. And, although the *cippi* in Solomon's temple are carefully distinguished from such *mazzeboth*, there was still the idea that they permanently secured the presence of the deity. And this, for the new sanctuary on Mount Moriah, made them eminently desirable, because its chief *sacrum* (the ark) would always be liable to easy removal. But, beyond that, they were *symbols of the covenant* cut between God and the Davidic dynasty, to stand firm for ever. I need not add that the assertion advanced elsewhere that the site was holy because of three grand offerings thereon made is one devoid of Biblical authority or probability.

From the fact that subsequently the coronation ceremony of Jewish kings took place at the foot of one of these pillars, one writer has said that the name Jachin was intended to be "a proclamation that the throne of David depended, for its stability, upon the favour of Jehovah."¹ That it did so depend I do not deny; but the choice of the name was not determined by that consideration. I may add that there is no support whatever for the inference that the high priests were anointed at the other pillar, or that the two pillars symbolized Church and Realm; still less "the strength and stability of the Church" as was asserted in a 1724 Catechism.

In this connection, mention may be made to three quasi-Biblical addenda which are very questionable. They are:—(1) "So named after the great grandfather of David," etc.; (2) "so named after an assistant priest who officiated at its dedication"; and (3) "God said—In strength I will establish this My house to stand firm for ever."

As regards the former two of these assertions, it will be evident, from what has already been said, that however abstruse may be the reason for giving individual names to the pillars, the one was certainly not so named after a person who, far from being a prince or ruler, was merely a Bethlehemite farmer, who had been dead at least 150 years, nor the other after an obscure priest of whom nothing is known except his name. These references to David's ancestor and the assistant priest seem to be nineteenth century interpolations, the earliest mention of the former identification which I have yet seen in print being by Carlile in 1825 and by Claret thirteen years later. The first to mention the assistant priest appears to be Claret, and even as late as 1856 Oliver referred the name Jachin to the son of Simeon mentioned in Gen. xlvii., 10.²

As regards the third statement—"in strength I will establish this My house to stand firm for ever," we all know that no such verse appears in the Bible. A less-known rendering (but one which incidentally can, in Bro. Tuckett's opinion, fairly claim an eighteenth century use) is "in strength I will establish this My house that *My Name* may stand firm for ever"; though that variation likewise lacks Scriptural authority. But the assertion, especially when prefaced by the words "God said"—is very objectionable because it involves a profanation, more particularly when it is applied to a prediction which was subsequently nullified. The intended reference seems to be a combination of I. Kings ix., 3, and I. Chron. xxviii., 7. This latter verse does, in the LXX. version, contain the essential words *ισχύς* and *καταρθώσω* ("strength" and "I will establish") though they refer to Solomon's dynasty, not to God's house. When the distorted quotation crept in I have not been able to ascertain, but it must presumably have been sanctioned by the Lodge of Reconciliation; and as I am loth to impute carelessness in such a matter to Dr. Hemming, I prefer to suggest that he passed it as an allusion to that spiritual house which our Craft is now building "to stand firm for ever." But whether this evasion sufficiently exonerates Dr. Hemming I must leave others to decide.³

¹ Caldecott, *Sol. Temp.*, 251.

² Oliver, *Theoc. Phil.*, 234.

³ Cf. Wonnacott (p. 241) and Hextall (p. 304) in *A.Q.C.*, xxiii.

The inquiry concerning the Middle Chamber and its Winding Stairs falls into three sections:—(1) The Scriptural type; (2) the Masonic antitype; and (3) the literary evidence regarding the latter.

In most English Versions of the Bible the rendering has been that Solomon had "chambers" made abutting on the house, and that "the entrance for the middle chamber was at the south side of the house, and the priests went up by winding stairs into the middle chamber and out of the middle into the third." Notwithstanding such unanimity of translators, however, this rendering admittedly involves several serious difficulties. Biblical exegetes may or may not be correct in saying that Solomon's temple was enclosed on three sides by rows of tiny cells built in three storeys, and that those cells are the same which elsewhere in Scripture are denominated by other terms varying according to their uses or relative positions. The chief difficulty is that the two words which in the above quotations have both been translated "chamber" differ from them all and differ from each other. One means a *bed* and the other means a *rib*, and neither of them would have been translated "chamber" except for an inference derived from Ezek. xli., 6. Also the word *lulim*, which has been rendered "winding-stairs," is one never occurring elsewhere in Scripture, and therefore its meaning can only be conjectural. Please do not suppose that I am suggesting that no Middle Chamber or Winding-stairs existed in Solomon's temple. Far be from me any such intention. But I have mentioned these difficulties to show that they cannot be discussed critically without involving controversial theories, and therefore must be avoided on the present occasion. In the *Transactions* of the Leicester Lodge of Research in 1913 I adduced *in extenso* a close analogy between such middle chambers and certain archeolithic remains in Sardinia in order to show the probability that Phœnicians were well acquainted with them in Solomon's time, and therefore could have introduced an analogous feature into the temple plans. In support of that idea we also have the record of Sargon, a king of Assyria in B.C. 710, that he had given orders for the construction, in the interior of the walls of his palace at Nineveh, of a "winding staircase" which was to be made "like the one in the palace of Syria." Of course, one would like to think the Syrian palace thus referred to was none other than the temple at Jerusalem, but until further evidence is forthcoming the inference would be very precarious. Years ago, our first Master (Sir Charles Warren) declared "there never was a middle chamber to the temple."¹ That was in 1887. To-day few Orientalists deny the possibility that, somewhere within the precincts of Solomon's temple, there may have been three circular vaulted chambers superposed one above another, and reached by a series of steps built within the wall which circumscribed them. That those chambers would be domed by proper arches involving keystones is unlikely. More probably they would be roofed by horizontal courses of conical masonry gradually approaching a common centre. This, however, is merely a detail *en passant*, but suggestive to Royal Arch Masons.

When we turn to the Masonic antitype of the Middle Chamber we must remember the statement that (during the construction of other parts of the temple) that room was utilized for paying wages to some of the craftsmen. Here we have another statement void of Scriptural authority. Such a chamber might have been so utilized, but the Bible does not say so.

There can, I think, be no doubt that, in the minds of those Masonic forebears who introduced this tradition into the ritual, the Middle Chamber meant a large upper-room which they imagined to be over the Holy Place. In this assumption they followed Josephus, Jerome and other writers, who confused the temple of Solomon with that of Herod; and then, after adding a thousand egregious embellishments, they pictured the former (as Bro. Gordon Hills has reminded us) according to the architectural style popular in their own period. A comparison of the temple set forth so floridly in Anderson's *Constitutions* and the engraving of it by John Senex in 1723, makes this indisputably clear;

¹ A.Q.C. i., 56.

whilst the models constructed and exhibited by Schott and Judah Leon further popularized the notion of this supposed spacious apartment over the sanctuary. Even John Lightfoot and other learned Hebraists of that time retained the idea, though they placed the Middle Chamber above the *Sanctum Sanctorum* only.

The earliest positive reference associating the Middle Chamber with Freemasonry occurs in 1726, in a newspaper advertisement announcing that at a certain London Lodge a lecture would be given, showing *inter alia* "which way the Fellow Crafts got into the Middle Chamber to receive their wages"; but implications earlier than this may perhaps underlie the facetious distinction between "the kitchen" and "the hall," and the Winding Staircase may be covert under the term "cockles."

Finally, the assertion that, in the Middle Chamber, the attention of the craftsmen was directed to any kind of Sacred Symbol, is likewise one devoid of Biblical or other known authority, and must be regarded as an eighteenth century gloss introduced to explain that older hieroglyphic bright:—

"Which none but Craftsmen ever saw."

(Burns.)

Brethren,—We must call a halt to this survey. We shall all regret that it has exposed a declension from medieval charges to glosses that are comparatively recent. This, however, does not imply a corresponding degeneration of the ritual. On the contrary, most of the interpolations sprang from a natural desire to render the old and simple wording more dignified and complete. But the eighteenth century was notoriously uncritical, and Biblical misquotations were by no means confined to Masonic matters. The first half of the nineteenth century was not much better; and consequently we have inherited a concretion of literary fungi, euphemistically termed "Masonic tradition," masking the sacred text, and therefore offensive to those many Brethren who are earnestly religious or studiously particular. But, whilst our veneration for the V.S.L. and our sincere desire for Truth constrain us to deplore such excrescences, probably few of us to-day would favour their compulsory excision. The tendency to standardization will preserve their retention, but we comfort ourselves with the knowledge that it will equally prevent any further additions. And to this end the work of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge will continue to be (as it has ever been) a potent auxiliary in promoting, by sound learning and trenchant criticism, that high standard of scholarship which constitutes the safest guarantee for the impressiveness of Masonic ritual.

Brethren, I greet you all.

At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. JOHN STOKES, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master":—

Bro. Walter William Covey-Crump was born in Birmingham in 1865. From his early days he was drawn to the study of ancient languages. After a business career extending over several years, during which he became conversant with Hebrew and classical literature, he proceeded to Cambridge in 1887. There he won a scholarship, and started working for Semitic Languages Tripos. But on the advice of college tutors he relinquished that object, changing to mathematics—in which he obtained his B.A. degree with honours in 1891. Thus he was contemporary with Bros. Tuckett and Vibert (the former of whom also took the Mathematical Tripos a year afterwards) but unfortunately had not then the pleasure of personal acquaintance with either of them.

Having resolved to take Holy Orders, he was ordained in 1892, and for several years combined work as a private coach with clerical duties in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

Gradually, however, his old affection for archaic studies revived, and for years he was an active member of the Society of Biblical Archeology, where he won the friendship of its indefatigable Secretary, Bro. Harry Rylands, and Bro. Dr. C. J. Ball, both great scholars whom we are proud to include among the Past Masters of this Lodge.

Partly through their influence, Bro. Covey-Crump was drawn towards Freemasonry, and admitted to the light of our Craft in St. Audrey Lodge (2727) at Ely in 1899. Afterwards, while a Curate at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, he joined the Euston Lodge in that town and became its Master in 1907. In the same year he was appointed Prov.Gd.Chap. of Norths. and Hunts., having held corresponding rank in Cambridgeshire in 1904.

In the Royal Arch he was exalted in the Pythagoras Chapter (88) Cambridge, becoming First Provincial in 1915 and a second time in 1922. In 1924 he was appointed Prov. 2nd Principal of Cambridgeshire.

Having been advanced in the Stradbroke Mark Lodge, he became its Master in 1916, and is now Past J.G.W. of East Anglia and also a Past G.Chaplain of England.

Turning now to his work in connection with Masonic research, he received much encouragement and assistance from our W.Bro. Thorp in the Lodge of Research at Leicester; was elected to Honorary Membership in 1912, and has contributed many lectures to its *Transactions*. Gradually his reputation as a successful Masonic lecturer extended to most of the Research Associations and Installed Masters' Lodges throughout the country; for many years now his services have been in constant request as a lecturer, and there are very few such Lodges that he has not visited at one time or another. Meanwhile he extended his investigation into the additional Degrees and attained to various offices in the Ark Mariners, Allied Degrees, Rose Croix, Constantine, K.H.S., and Royal Order of Scotland. He has in various years presided over three Lodges of Mariners and three Chapters of Rose Croix, attaining in the A. and A. Rite the rank of 31°, and in the Order of Constantine he is now G.H. Prelate of England.

Reverting for a moment to his clerical profession, after being for seven years Vicar of a small parish in Bedfordshire, he was in 1910 collated by the then Bishop of Ely to the benefice of Friday Bridge, a parish far away in the heart of the Cambridgeshire Fens, where his long sixteen years of devoted labour was officially recognized last year by appointment to be Rural Dean of Wisbech.

In our own Lodge he was elected to full membership about four years ago; and now, after an unusually rapid period of probation amongst us, has to-night reached what we are quite sure he will regard not only as the highest honour any Lodge has in its power to confer on any of its members, but in this particular instance as the summit of Masonic eminence among exponents of our Craft—Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

REVIEWS.

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF FREEMASONRY IN STOCKTON-ON-TEES.

Compiled from original Minutes . . . by J. A. Henderson and C. W. Anderson. Edited by W. Newton. Published as a Souvenir in connection with the Annual Meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham at Stockton-on-Tees, on May 23rd, 1928.



STOCKTON-ON-TEES in the County of Durham is well known to Masonic Students as the present home of the early Records of a Lodge that was Constituted in January, 1726, at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane, close to the Royal Exchange, in the City of London; and was transferred to Stockton in 1756. Lodge Minutes of so early a date cannot fail to contain much interesting matter, and from these particular books Bro.

W. J. Hugban was able, in 1897 (*A.Q.C.* x., 197) to extract valuable references in regard to the degree of Master. They also show the method adopted by the premier Grand Lodge for constituting Lodges by 'deputation.' And they tell us where some Brethren who afterwards became prominent members of the Craft in Ireland as well as in England, received their first instruction in Masonic work.

It seems probable that the place in the Engraved List which was filled in 1726 by the Lodge at the Swan and Rummer, had earlier been occupied by one constituted in 1724, at the Fleece, in Fleet Street; but of this Lodge no records remain. Of the Swan and Rummer, the London Minute Books are in existence from 1726 to 1734, and those of Stockton from 1756 to 1829, and from these our Authors have extracted some very interesting notes that only whet our appetite for more. Perhaps a full History was hardly to be expected in a brochure compiled as a Souvenir for a meeting of a Provincial Grand Lodge, but now that that function is over I suggest that the Authors start again, and complete what they have so well begun.

Let me instance one particular point:—"We have extracted from the Lists of attendance of visitors the names of not fewer than 64 London Taverns where their Lodges were held." Lists such as these might prove of immense value when endeavouring to trace the movements of London Lodges. By the way, surprise is expressed that this Lodge should have been held in a Tavern. But where otherwise could the members have met? They needed a large room, and they needed Refreshment before or after Labour. I think it would be difficult to find any Society or Institution of the period, whether Literary, Scientific, Social or Religious, which did not start its career in a Tavern.

A very interesting event was the removal of the Lodge from London to Stockton in 1756. We read:—"It is surmised that the reason of the removal from the Metropolis to our stormy North East Coast was the fact that many members were Master Mariners," and it is quite likely that a considerable change in social standing had taken place in thirty years. I should have been inclined to suggest that the Lodge at Stockton was a new creation which took the place of the lapsed Lodge in London. In fact, in *Q.C.A.* x., xiii., I stated that the London Lodge lapsed in 1751. We know that in 1743 it absorbed a Lodge meeting at the Rose, Cheapside, and its latest attendance at Grand Lodge seems to have been in November, 1745, but the *Constitutions* of 1756 (published after February of that year), gives our Lodge as then meeting at the Pope's

Head, Cornhill, London, with date of Constitution February, 1724. It is practically certain that this date was that of the earlier Lodge at the Fleece, to which I have already referred, but the evidence still remains that our Lodge was on the Roll in February, 1756, in London. On 2nd December, 1756, a new Minute Book was commenced in Stockton, and on the 14th January, 1757, a sum of £2 2s. was received at Grand Lodge as a contribution to the Fund of Charity, and apparently this sum was not sent as payment for a new constitution. What actually happened during those months in 1756 we shall not know unless the second London Minute Book happens to turn up. There is, of course, the possibility that official sanction for the transfer was obtained and not recorded. But in that case one would not have expected that money would pass when the furniture and jewels (of which a delightful description is given) were shipped to Stockton.

It is evident that the Lodge took good root after the transplanting, and flourished for many years; and a number of interesting notes of its proceedings are quoted. In 1829 we have the last recorded Minute, and in 1838 the Lodge was erased. We may, however, supplement Lane by noting that during the last four years of existence the meetings were held at the Vane Arms, in Stockton.

Some short particulars are given in this Souvenir of the existing Lodges and Chapters in the town, and of these their members no doubt are justly proud; but it is of the old Lodge, constituted in 1726, at the Swan and Rummer, that I crave fuller details.

W. J. SONGHURST.

July, 1928.

A HISTORY OF THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE EMPRESS OF INDIA LODGE (formerly No. 1761 E.C. and now No. 57 U.G.L. of N.S.W.). 1927.

This Lodge was constituted by dispensation from the English District Grand Master of New South Wales on 22nd November, 1877, the Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England being dated 22 May in the following year. Its early home was at Woollahra, which is described as a "favourite and fashionable suburb" of Sydney. In 1888 the Lodge was removed from the English Roll, on the formation of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales, to which the Empress of India transferred its allegiance, together with most of the other Lodges under the English, Irish, and Scottish jurisdiction.

The members of the Committee appointed to write this History are not quite happy in their description of the methods adopted by the Grand Lodge of England when independent Grand Lodges are formed in the Colonies. The correct procedure is fully set out in the *Book of Constitutions*, by which the rights of minorities are properly safeguarded.

The Minutes of the Lodge are complete from its first inception, and the extracts given provide an adequate record of its proceedings, but one feels sorry that more of the Annual Reports of one of the Secretaries have not been printed, as he was evidently a man of character, and was capable of introducing a human element which is distinctly pleasing.

As a frontispiece we are given a picture of the "Lodge Room at Woollahra in use from March 1886 to October 1919," and this no doubt will be studied by Brethren in England, who will notice little differences between their own practice and what is probably the standard adopted in N.S.W.

An appendix gives some useful biographical notes on all the members of the Lodge during the fifty years of its existence.

W. J. SONGHURST.

July, 1928.

HISTORY OF THE LODGE OF BENEVOLENCE No. 226 . . . Com-
piled from the Lodge Records and Other Sources by Bro. Joe Preston.
1928.

This is a pleasantly-written book, whose value would have been much increased had an Index been provided. No. 226 was a Lodge under the Antients, constituted in 1798 in the manner usually adopted by that organization, namely, by the formation of a Grand Lodge locally, brethren being specially empowered to fill the necessary offices for the few specified hours requisite for the ceremony.

The Lodge had its ups and downs, and at one time seemed almost on the verge of extinction, but a removal from Blackburn to Littleborough in 1838, and the introduction of some energetic brethren, saved the situation, and to-day its prosperity is undoubted.

An interesting feature of the Book is a series of biographical notes on prominent members. As was to be expected, there is mention of degrees beyond the Craft, such as Passing the Chair, Royal Arch, Ark, Mark, Link, and Wrestle; and these were not entirely abandoned at the Union, for the Mark was conferred down to 1829.

Unfortunately the Inventories of the Lodge properties are not given in full, but illustrations of three chairs show that some of the furniture is of excellent design, and may perhaps have been purchased when the Lodge was originally formed. In 1847 there is a note of "One Metal Trowel for the I.G.," but it is not stated if this is still in use, or even in existence. A Bible in the possession of the Lodge has a label showing that it had belonged to "The Fox Lodge" in 1768, and it is presumed that this refers to the present No. 64, which at one time met at the Fox Inn, Manchester. No. 226 formerly possessed a set of Officers' jewels which also had been owned by No. 64, and they were returned in 1882 in exchange for a new set. No. 64 seems to have been dormant for a while, and it is suggested that during that period No. 226 may have acquired its property. There is thus a possibility that its furniture also came from this source.

The Lodge is to be congratulated upon possessing the whole of its Minute Books, of which good use has been made by the historian.

W. J. SONGHURST.

July, 1928.

SYMBOLISM—ITS MEANING AND EFFECT. A. N. Whitehead.
Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d.

This little book of a hundred small pages is one which thoughtful Masonic students cannot afford to overlook. In it Professor Whitehead shows symbolism to be an essential component of all our intellectual functioning, inseparable from the thought processes of all high-grade organisms. With masterly analysis he shows the manner of all individual response to environment, distinguishes two types of functioning, "Direct recognition" and "Symbolic reference" (p. 8), and finds that "the more usual symbolic reference is from the less primitive component as symbol to the more primitive as meaning," while "there are no components of experience which are only symbols or only meanings," and this, he contends, "does away with any mysterious element in our experience which is merely meant, and thereby behind the veil of direct perception" (p. 11). Direct recognition, he analyses in the perceptive experience to be of two distinct types (1) presentational immediacy, and (2) causal efficacy (p. 20), and not the least valuable part of his essay is the demonstration of causal efficacy—(the realisation of conformation of present fact to immediate past)—as "more prominent both in apparent behaviour, and in consciousness when the organism is low grade" (p. 49).

"It is a heavy, primitive experience, dominating the primitive living organisms" (p. 52)—whereby he controverts "the most cherished traditions of modern philosophy shared alike by the school of empiricists which derives from Hume, and the school of transcendental realists which derives from Kant" (p. 36). He shows causal efficacy to be the primitive mode of response to environment and the appreciation of presentational immediacy with symbolic reference, a higher development.

"The world, given in sense-presentation, is not the aboriginal experience of the lower organisms, later to be sophisticated by the inference of causal efficacy. The contrary is the case. First the causal side of experience is dominating, then the sense-presentation gains in subtlety. Their mutual symbolic reference is finally purged by consciousness, and the critical reason, with the aid of a pragmatic appeal to consequences" (p. 58).

It is this symbolism which "plays a dominant part in the way in which all higher organisms conduct their lives. It is the cause of progress and the cause of error" (p. 70).

Having established the essential character of symbolism in the ordinary processes of thought, Prof. Whitehead then discusses its uses in its more consciously elaborated artificial forms, and notes: "The repulsion from symbolism stands out as a well marked element in the cultural history of civilized people" (p. 71). No account of the uses of symbolism is complete without this recognition that the symbolic elements in life have a tendency to run wild, like the vegetation in a tropical forest" (p. 72.) Still, "however you may endeavour to expel it, it ever returns. Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degradation: it is inherent in the very texture of human life" (p. 73). "Symbolic transference invests their correlative meanings with some or all of these attributes of the symbols, and thereby lifts the meanings into an intensity of definite effectiveness,—as elements in knowledge, emotion, and purpose,—an effectiveness which the meanings may or may not, deserve on their own account. The object of symbolism is the enhancement of the importance of what is symbolized" (p. 74).

Discussing the binding and disruptive forces at work, an interesting instance of the range of his thought is presented.

"Communities with geographical unity constitute the primary type of communities which we find in the world. Indeed, the lower we go in the scale of being the more necessary is geographical unity for that close interaction of individuals which constitute Society. Societies of the higher animals, of insects, of molecules, all possess geographical unity. A rock is nothing else than a society of molecules indulging in every species of activity open to molecules. I draw attention to this lowly form of Society in order to dispel the notion that social life is a peculiarity of the higher organisms. The contrary is the case. So far as survival-value is concerned a piece of rock, with its past history of some eight hundred millions of years far outstrips the short span attained by any nation. The emergence of life is better conceived as a bid for freedom on the part of organisms, a bid for a certain independence of individuality with self interests and activities not to be construed purely in terms of environmental obligations. The immediate effect of this emergence of sensitive individuality has been to reduce the term of life for societies from hundreds of millions of years to hundreds of years, or even to scores of years" (p. 76-77).

"In place of the force of instinct which suppresses individuality, society has gained the efficacy of symbols at once preservative of the commonweal, and of the individual standpoint" (p. 78).

"Symbolic expression first preserves Society by adding emotion to instinct and secondly it affords a foothold for reason by its delineation of the particular instinct which it expresses" (p. 82).

"There is no sense in which pure instinct can be wrong. But symbolically conditioned action can be wrong in the sense that it may arise from a false symbolic analysis of causal efficacy" (p. 95).

"Reflex action arises when by the operation of symbolism the organism has acquired the habit of action in response to immediate sense perception, and has discarded the symbolic enhancement of causal efficacy. It thus represents the relapse from the high grade activity of symbolic reference. This relapse is practically inevitable in the absence of conscious attention. Reflex action cannot in any sense be said to be wrong, though it may be unfortunate" (p. 96).

"Only active thought can save symbolically conditioned action from quickly relapsing into reflex action" (p. 97).

"In every effective symbolism there are certain æsthetic features shared in common. The meaning acquires emotion and feeling directly excited by the symbol" (p. 98).

"The whole question of symbolic transfer of emotion lies at the base of any theory of the æsthetics of art. For example, it gives the reason for the importance of a rigid suppression of irrelevant detail. For emotions inhibit each other, or intensify each other. Harmonious emotion means a complex of emotions mutually intensifying; whereas the irrelevant details supply emotions which, because of their irrelevance, inhibit the main effect" (p. 101).

"Mankind by means of its elaborate system of symbolic transference can achieve miracles of sensitiveness to a distant environment, and to a problematic future. But it pays the penalty by reason of the dangerous fact that each symbolic transference may involve an arbitrary imputation of unsuitable characters" (p. 103).

"The art of free Society consists first in the maintenance of the symbolic code: and secondly in fearlessness of revision to secure that the code serves those purposes which satisfy an enlightened reason. Those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision, must ultimately decay either from anarchy or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows" (p. 104).

These brief quotations give some indication of the closely reasoned argument, and show how deep rooted is the principle of symbolism in our nature. "So imperative an impulse," he says, "suggests that the notion of an idle masquerade is the wrong way of thought about the symbolic elements in life" (p. 74).

And where the great verities of human experience are concerned, man's birth and life and death: and the duty he owes to God, his neighbour, and himself; where we seek to understand "these controlling presences, these sources of power, these things with an inner life with their own richness of content, these beings with the destiny of the world hidden in their nature" (p. 67) we can confidently feel that symbolism must enhance the importance of our pursuit amid the myriad distractions of the "outside world."

THOS. M. CARTER.

July, 1928.

NOTES AND QUERIES.



AURENCE DERMOTT.—In his little book on "Laurence Dermott G.S.," Brother Bywater gave a copy of the Will of this Brother and a note, probably taken from the Will Register, of the Probate particulars. I have recently referred to the record copy of the Probate Act itself. It is taken from the Probate Act Book for 1791 of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and is as follows:—

July 1791.

Laurence Dermott. On the fifteenth day the Will of Laurence Dermott formerly of the Parish of St. Botolph Aldgate in the same County but late of Mile End Old Town in the Parish of St. Dunstan Stepney in the same County dec^d. was proved by the oath of Elizabeth Dermott, Widow, the relict of the said deceased and sole Executrix to whom Admon was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

[In margin] Under £600.

It must be admitted that this throws but little further light on the subject beyond the fact that the Estate was sworn at under £600. It does not follow that the £600 was clear. It may have been reduced by debts and funeral expenses. The £600 would not include freehold property (if any).

Bro. Bywater asked for news as to the Burial place of the deceased and said that the following Burial Registers had been searched:—

St. Botolph, Aldgate; Christ Church, Spitalfields; St. Mary, Bow; St. Mary, Bromley (Middlesex); St. Anne, Limehouse; St. Dunstan, Stepney; St. Mary, Whitechapel; Bunhill Fields and Bull Lane. .

Perhaps some Brother may yet come upon the Burial entry, as it would be interesting to know where the Grand Secretary, &c., of the Antients was interred.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

July, 1928.

Powers of Warden in Master's absence.—In Bro. Daynes's paper on the extinct Maid's Head Lodge at Norwich (*A.Q.C.* xxxviii., 227) reference is made to the delegation by the W.M. of "his power to the S.W. to sit as Master in his absence," on which Bro. Heron Lepper commented. The following abstracts on this and other matters, taken from the Minutes of the Neptune Lodge No. 22, may be found interesting.

F. W. GOLBY.

May, 1928.

Abstracts from the Minutes of the Neptune Lodge No. 22.

1775. Aug. 9. Lodge open'd at 7 o'clock S.W. in the Chair.
 Rais'd Brother Sweet to the Second Part.
 Clos'd at ten in good Harmony.
23. The Master in the chear gave a Lectter In the entard apprentice and felow Craft Clos'd the Lodge In good Harmony at ten a Clock

1789. Feberwarwary 2th

Opend at 7 in the Second Degree of Masonry and prosd to Rais Br. Graham to that Degree of a Master Mason, and Closed in the Master and Opend Immediantly in the Craft. Call to Refreshment at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 OClock.

Calld on at 10 OClock a Lector Given in the Second Degree By &c.

Closed In Good Harmony at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11

Nothing moor offerd for the Good of Masonry Only as Hugh Knight Br. prosed Wm. Gabrile.

1st Sepr. 1794.

Regular Lodge Night Opend in Due form at 7 oClock when proceeded to Enter Mr. Roger Fogarty as an Enterd aprentice Master & Junrs. Warden Absent and Senr. Warden in the Chaire. Closed at 10 oClock in good Harmony. Paid £2.2.-

Extract from Minutes of 7th January 1800 (previous Minutes dated 3rd Sepr. 1799).

The Brethern will be Pleased to recollect & as well excuse the regular Minutes of the 4 last nights as the Secty. was unable to attend—therefore as the Books are Settld and clearly Balanced he trusts in their usl. Goodness the[y] will accept of this as a Genl. Minute. Bro. Jno. Lynn pafsed the Chair & is still continued as Secty.—Thos. Retallick Pafsed two degrees in the above mentioned time.

Subsequent Minutes Read and Confirmed Feb. 4 1800, Mar. 4 1800 and next July 7 1801.

1809. Oct. 10. "Proceeded to make" a candidate "as an enter'd Apprentice Mason but in consequence of his not being upright in Body he could not be admitted therefore was rejected accordingly."

Union Grand Lodge.—Chancing to go through a volume of "The Freemason" for 1884 I came across the following communication under "Masonic Notes & Queries" dated September 27 of that year:—

"Perhaps some of our readers may be able to throw some light in the following advertisement, which we chanced upon in the columns of the 'Daily Advertiser' for Saturday 11th January 1777:

"Union Grand Lodge"

The Brethren are requested to attend at Brother Nelson's, the White Hart Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Monday next the (13th) inst, for the Election of Grand and other Officers for the ensuing year.

"J. Hill, Secretary.

"Supper to be on table at Seven o'clock."

It would be apparent that no reader was able to throw any light as requested as no reply was evidently forthcoming.

Bro. H. Sadler in his article "An unrecorded Grand Lodge" in *A.Q.C.* xviii. does not mention this "Union Grand Lodge" and I cannot remember seeing any note regarding it.

Perhaps it was not a Masonic organization, but in any case I should be very interested to hear the history of this "Union Grand Lodge."

G. REEVES-BROWN,

July, 1928.

District Grand Secretary, Punjab.

OBITUARY.



It is with regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Edwin Allen, of Weston-super-Mare, on 10th September, 1926. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B., and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.

Joseph Banham, of Buenos Aires, on 23rd September, 1926. Bro. Banham held the rank of P.Dis.G.W. and P.Dis.A.G.Sc.E. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1902.

Col. **Charles John Blake**, R.A., of Weymouth, on 24th October, 1926. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W. and P.Dis.G.R. (R.A.) of Malta, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1892.

Walter Clifford Burrell, of Chicago, on 1st October, 1926. He was President of the Masonic History Company, a P.M. of Jackson Lodge No. 42, and a member of Euclid Chapter No. 43, both of Iowa. Our Brother joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1908.

Dr. **George B. Buttery**, of Birmingham, on 13th September, 1926, at the age of 74 years. Bro. Buttery held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.). He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1907.

David R. Clark, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), of Glasgow, in 1926. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 0, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since June, 1890.

James Hermon Clendinning, of Lurgan, Ireland, on 8th September, 1926. Bro. Clendinning was a P.M. of Lodge No. 134 and P.K. of Chapter No. 602. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1890.

George Edward Hare, of Nottingham, in 1926. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

Lee Claflin Hascall, of Boston, Mass., on 4th July, 1926. Bro. Hascall was a member of Mount Hermon Lodge, and he was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1891.

Reginald Edgar Jefferis, of Bath, on 7th December, 1926. Our Brother was W.M. of Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41 and A.So. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1922.

W. E. Jones, of London, on 18th August, 1926. Bro. Jones was a P.M. of Friendship Lodge No. 206 and a member of London Rank. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

Edward William Keating, of Cape Town, in 1926. Bro. Keating was a Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner of England, and held the office of Dep. Dis. G. M. (Cen. Div.), S. Africa. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1905.

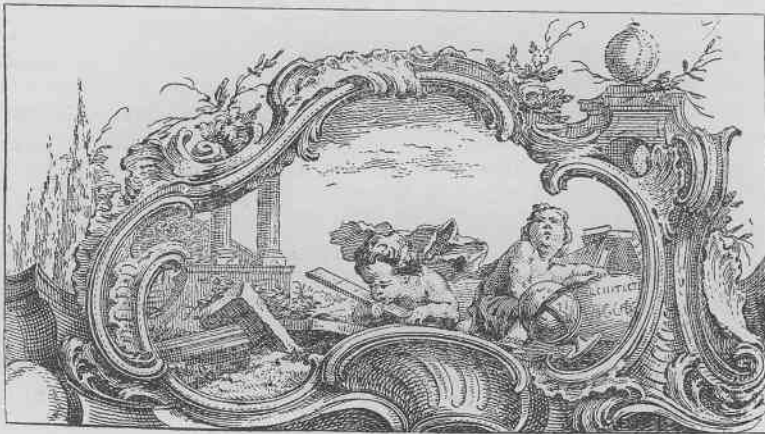
Lawson William McCreary, of London, on 23rd November, 1926. Our Brother was a P. M. of Carnarvon Lodge No. 1572, and held the rank of P. Pr. A. G. So. for Kent. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1911.

Henry Squire Smith, of Cape Colony, on 25th October, 1915. Bro. Smith was Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies of England, and held the office of Dis. G. Sec., S. Africa, E. Div. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in November, 1898, and for many years acted as our Local Secretary for South Africa, E. Div.

William Arthur Tebbs, of Halifax, Yorks., in 1926. He was a member of the Lord Warkworth Lodge No. 1879 and of the De Percy Chapter No. 636. Our Brother joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1918.

John Wemyss, of Neepawa, Manitoba, in July, 1926. Bro. Wemyss was a Past Grand Master, and he joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1901.

Ernest William Malpas Wonnacott, A. R. I. B. A., F. S. I., of London, on 8th July, 1926. Our Brother was a Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R. A.), and held the office of Librarian and Curator of the Grand Lodge of England. Bro. Wonnacott joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1904, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in March, 1911, and was Master in 1915.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1926:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin; Tuscan Lodge No. 360, Missouri; Wattle Lodge No. 378, Victoria; Morningside Lodge No. 615, Sioux City, Iowa; Bromfield Lodge of Instruction No. 4233, Wrexham; Provincial Grand Lodge of Canterbury, Christchurch, N.Z.; Launceston Masonic Library, Launceston, Tasmania; Masonic Study Club, Idaho; Keystone Lodge, Ontario, Canada.

BRETHREN:—Edward Smith Abraham, M.D., of London; John William Ackroyd, of Bradford, Yorks.; Henry William Allen, of Sutton, Surrey; Edgar Allman-Marchant, of Wanganui, N.Z.; Alexander Boyd Andrews, of Raleigh, North Carolina; John Thompson Appleton, of Sheffield; Frederick Armitage, of Roundhay, Leeds; Leonard Arnold, of Melbourne, Victoria; Edgar Atkinson, of Sheffield; Stanley George Reginald Baker, of Clifton, Bristol; Tom Baker, of Bulawayo, Rhodesia; Ernest Bardell, of Nilgiris, S. India; Ernest James Barrett, B.A., of Crewe; Arthur Henry Barron, of York; Harry James Barter, M.M., of Karachi, India; Eneas Percy Bates, M.A., of Hull; Charles Atkins Batty, of Armentieres, France; William James Bees, of Leeds; Arthur Bellamy, of Castleford; William Arthur Blundy, of York; Dr. Richard Lee Bolton, of Leeds; Herbert Booth, of Harwich, Essex; Arthur Edward Bradshaw, of Oxford; Reginald Arthur Brooking, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Charles Watson Brown, of London; John Stirling Brown, F.S.A.A., of Glasgow; William Brown, M.D., of Bristol; Lonsdale Bonner, of Stanningley, Leeds; John T. Borland, of Falkirk; Frederick James Brooks, of Redland, Bristol; William Robert Bundock, of Bolivia, S. America; Archibald Burns, of Auckland, N.Z.; Colonel Claude Cane, of Celbridge, Ireland; Henry Carr, of Sheffield; Stephen Ernest Carwardine, of Bristol; Albert Cass, of Bristol; William Joseph Causbysmith, of London; George Henry Champion, of W. Worthing; Harry Childs, of Leeds; Fred Cockroft, of Leeds; Capt. Frederick Lawrence Coldwell-Smith, of Farnborough, Hants; A. M. Cole, of London; Dr. Joseph Basil Cook, of Isleworth, Middx.; William James Cooper, of Gillingham, Kent; Gilbert Thomas Cossens, of Bristol; Francis James Henderson Coutts, C.B., M.D., B.Sc., D.P.H., of Kingston Hill, Surrey; Frank B. Colver, of Sheffield; Henry Courtier, of Scarborough; Frank Hobart Cox, of Cottesloe Beach, W. Australia; Donald Craig, of Sheffield; Frederick Thomas Cramphorn, of Brentwood, Essex; Hugh Leslie Creer, of York; Charles Needham Crossland, of Sheffield; Robert John Culverwell, of Clifton; Ferdinand d'Almeida, of Brazil; Ion Darby, of Worthing; Samuel Dargavel, of London; Arthur W. Davis, of Spokane; Vivian Gordon Davies, of London; Major Charles William de Roemer, of London; Alexander Henry Donaldson, M.A., M.R.C.S., of Holsworthy, N. Devon; Major Ernest John Dunscombe, of Bristol; Osmond William Dunscombe, of Bristol; Joseph Thomas Senior Dyer, of Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex; Frederic Ray Eaton, of Norwich; Arthur Edbrooke, of Bristol; Wilfred Hawksley Edmunds, J.P., O.B.E., of Chesterfield; Albert Harry Edwards, of Chichester; Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Elkan, D.S.O., O.B.E., of London; Edward Elliott, of Scotswood-on-Tyne; William Emmerson, of London; Bertram Mansfield English, of Birmingham; John Alfred Evison, of Brighton, Sussex; Richard Faull, of Liskeard; J. Granville Fearson, of Merstham; William

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